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## I.—THE ARYAN GOD OF LIGHTNING.

I have suggested in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association for 1894, I. x, that one of the Vedic descriptions of the fire-god Agni, viz. *Apām Nāpāt* 'water's son,' an epithet of the god as lightning, is reflected in Latin *NEPT-ūnus* (<*Nept* 'son' + \**udnos* : Sk. *udnās* 'of the water') and in Greek Ποτ-τ-δᾶν for \**Ne-ποτ-ιδάων* 'son of the \**idā*'s'; and I explained \**idā* as equal to Sk. *īdā* 'a sacrificial food of *ghee*,' in gradation with Hom. *īdāp* 'food,' noting that Agni is called in RV. iii 29. 3 *īdāyās putrāḥ* 'son of *īdā*,' the personified *ghee*, with *d* for *d* because of the adjective *īdya* 'worshipful' (: *īd*), a very frequent epithet, reserved almost exclusively for Agni. The root was *īdh* 'kindle,' with a by-form *īd* in the neighborhood of nasals (cf. Sk. *īndu* 'sparkling drops, sparks'). In *īdāp* 'food' (for \**īdāp*) [first the butter-food of the sacrifice?] <sup>1</sup> there has been contamination with *īdā*. It is to this *īdāp*, perhaps, that we owe the vocalization in the

<sup>1</sup> For this meaning of *īdāp* I can cite no literary instance, but its *r/n*-inflection hints at its having been once a liquid. We must also compare *īdη*, which I take to have meant originally 'pine<-mount>' (cf. Σ 287), though it passed over into the sense of 'timber' in general. Possibly *īdāw* is directly a gen. to *īdη* in the sense of 'kindling,' just as we use 'pine' in the southern part of the U. S. as short for 'kindling-wood,' and as the Romans used *taeda*. A comparable semasy is offered by Sk. *ghritā* 'ghee' as compared with Gk. *χρότος* 'fodder,' but, specifically, 'straw-yard.' The primary meaning was something like that in Sk. *īghṛ* 'drip, besprinkle' (cf. *īpa* + *īstṛ* 'sprinkle sacrificial fat'), but in Eng. *strew* is used only of solids. I note, in passing, that Germ. *streu* probably owes its abnormal vocalization to being one of a group with *heu*, *spreu* (cf. Mod. Lang. Notes, XI 228).

common form *Ποσειδῶν*, but in that case we must put the affection in the primitive Greek period, as indeed we should have to put there the semasic alienation of *εἰδαρ* (cf. *supra*, footnote 1). As the sense of the compound was shifting between 'son of the kindlings' and 'lord of the waters,' the form *Ποσειδᾶν* came into use by association with *οὐδμα* 'wave.' These changes must have taken place before the composition was felt: thus starting with \**Nεποτ ιδαων* 'son of the kindlings,' the next stage was \**Nεποτ \*ειδαων*, contemporaneous with the change from \**ιδαρ* to *εἰδαρ* just assumed; the next step \**Nεποτ \*οιδαων* 'son of the waves,' with a final shift from 'son' to 'lord' of the \**Ida*'s, whence \**Nεποτ-* gave way to *Ποτο-*.<sup>1</sup> A coincidental motive may well have been an association of *Ποτιδάων* with *Ποταμός* 'river-god' (cf. 'Ωκεανός <Ποταμός> γ 7) and *Πόντος* 'sea.'

Against the explanation I have offered Corinthian *ΠοτειδάϜων* (Cauer, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, No. 81) may be brought forward. This form is not, however, to be received without suspicion. I compare the two inscriptions (l. c., Nos. 6, 7):

Σιμίον μ' ἀνέθεκε Ποτε(ι)δάϜōν[ι] Φάνακτι]  
... ον μ' ἀνέθ[ε]κε Ποτε(ι)δᾶνι Φάν[ακτι].

Of these the first is a perfect hexameter, and the second is not, to look at the writing merely, and yet the verses are evidently the same. There is undoubtedly metrical intention in the writing of the first. We may assume that the Homeric form *Ποσειδάων* was in the mind of the verse-maker, but whence the *Ϝ*? It may have been due to a false etymology; but yet I note the form *Δαιφοβος* in a list of Trojan names (Cauer<sup>3</sup>, 78), and we must suppose that this is for Homeric *Δηφοβος*, primitive \**Δαιϝι*.<sup>o</sup> Seeing that *Φεκάϐā* is in the same inscription, we cannot say that the *Ϝ*

<sup>1</sup> On the general subject of aphaeresis in proper names I refer to Baunack, *Rhein. Mus.* XXXVII 477 sq., and to Bechtel's objections, *B. B.* XX 243 sq. It seems to me a defect in the latter's argument that he seems to deny the possibility that the full and shortened forms continued in contemporaneous existence, as if, say, 'Lizzie' or 'Bessie' were to altogether crowd out 'Elizabeth.' Or are we to deny all exceptions to aphaeresis? I add a little list of English instances: Augusta | Gussie, Amanda | Manda | Manna, Elizabeth | Lisbeth | Lizzie | Bessie, Irene | Rena, Henrietta | Rietta | Etta, Selina | Lena, Eleanor | Lenore | Nora, Janet | Nettie, Isabella | Bella | Belle; Robert, Albert | Bert; Anita, Juanita | Nita; Ezekiel | Zeke, Abijah | Bijah, Elijah | Lije, Matthias | Thias (in *Adam Bede*). Many of the possessors of the abbreviated names get them in baptism, and never have any right to the long names at all.

in Πορεδά<sup>1</sup> is not Corinthian. Still, the verse-writer may have known that many Homeric cases of hiatus had (by survival) in his own dialect an intervening *F*, and have inserted one here on general principles. Or he may have etymologized on the name from the standpoint of *ΔάFων*<sup>2</sup> (Cauer<sup>3</sup>, No. 394), a name preserved among the Thessalians. But the variation may, after all, be a graphic one, an attempt to represent the pronunciation of the rounded *ā* resulting from contraction of *ā+ω*, or anticipative rounding of the lips before *ω*, producing a labial spirant as a passing tone. As a graphic device this can be illustrated from the Ionic dialects. Thus, for *av* there are in Ionic dialects two orthographies of sporadic occurrence—one is *ao* and the other *aFv* (cf. Smyth, Greek Dialects, I, §243). In line with this is the representation of *āw* (or *āō*) by *aFw*.<sup>4</sup>

But even if the *F* be original, no great shift needs to be made to maintain the sense of my comparison, for Agni is not only *īdāyāh putrāh*, but is also *īdāvān* 'possessing *īdā*' (RV. iv 2. 5).<sup>5</sup>

What seemed to me to be absolutely cogent for the identification of these divinities, taken along with their very considerable phonetic agreement, was the connection each has in his respective cosmogony with the creation of the horse. Their creatorship of the horse I explained as due to a primitive confusion of the stems *ekwe-* 'horse' and *aqa-* 'water'<sup>6</sup> in the Aryan period, with the added semasic interpretation of both stems by 'run,' a *nomen agentis* to the stem *āk* 'sharp, swift.'<sup>7</sup>

I have since<sup>8</sup> learned that the same comparison of the Aryan words for horse and water had been previously made by Sibree

<sup>1</sup> ΔάFων: *γύδαF* 'burn,' and so perhaps specially liable to association with Πορεδῶν. Note also below, p. 19, on Δαμάτηρ (for \*ΔaFω μάτηρ).

<sup>2</sup> I note also *ω* as an orthography for *av* in Ionic (Smyth, l. c., 244).

<sup>3</sup> I prefer the explanation of *\*īdaωn* as gen. plur. because of the combination with *\*Neptor* into one word. This would not so naturally occur with the adj., I think. Neither is *ndpāt* without a modifying genitive usual, though it possibly occurs twice, RV. x 15. 3<sup>b</sup> and ii 35. 14<sup>c</sup> (cf. the author, l. c.). Objection cannot hold that *īdāvān* is a *-vant* stem, for *-van* and *-vant* are used side by side, e. g. in the Agni-epithets *svadhāvat-* and *svadhāvan-*.

<sup>4</sup> Or perhaps *\*ākwa*. The Celtic treatment of *kw* seems not to have differed from that of *q*, according to Brugmann (Gr. I, §435), and so Müllenhoff's objections to this base from the Celtic side are not cogent (cf. M. cited by Feist, Got. Etym., s. v. *ahva*).

<sup>5</sup> For the symbol *ā* (in the Aryan period) I refer to my 'Agglutination and Adaptation,' Am. Jour. Phil. XV 425.

<sup>6</sup> From the Bibliography of I. F. Anz. III 66.

in the Academy (Nos. 1018, 1052); his examples are taken, all but exclusively, from the names of rivers, and are therefore liable to some suspicion, viz. Sk. *açvāvati*<sup>1</sup> ('water-possessing') and *açvaparṇi* ('water-winged'); Persian river-names preserved in Greek sources, e. g. *Hyd-aspes*, *Zari-aspes*, *Cho-aspes*, etc.; for Greek, Μελαν-ίππιον ('little black water'), Αγαν-ίππη ('great spring') and *Euhippa* ('fair-water,' Pliny). I believe, however, that I can offer more convincing examples than any of these. I cite first from a hymn to *Vāyu*, a wind-god, RV. viii 26. 24:

*tvāṁ hi supsārastamāṁ nr̄ṣādaneṣu hūmāhe  
grāvāṇam nāçvapṛṣṭham manhānā.<sup>2</sup>*

Ludwig translates this by "dich den überreichen an trefflicher nahrung, rufen zu der menschen sitzen wir, | der wie ein stein von rossrückenbreite an reichlichkeit." This is a forced literal translation and does not suit the *प्रष्ठा* compounds, which are of two sorts in RV.: 1st, like *ghṛtāप्रष्ठा* 'with ghee on its back'; 2d, like *vitāप्रष्ठा* 'smooth-backed': *āçvapṛṣṭha* ought to mean 'with *āçva* on its back.' Grassmann's translation of the third pāda is, "Dem steine gleich, der reichlich scharfen soma trägt," a rendering based on the conjectural reading *nāçupṛṣṭham* ("statt des unpassenden *nāçva*", etc.). That the soma-press<sup>4</sup> is meant by *grāvāṇam nā* is, I take it, indubitable, and in *āçvapṛṣṭham* (for *āçvā*?<sup>5</sup>) I see the Aryan word for water, i. e. 'run, stream'; I therefore translate this pāda: 'like a press-stone stream-backed right generously,' a translation identical with Grassmann's when we observe that soma is connoted by 'stream.'

<sup>1</sup> This name is in perfect accord for semasy and form with *sdrasvati*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the author in Proc. Am. Or. Soc., Dec. 1894, clxxii.

<sup>3</sup> Of this type RV. shows *soma*<sup>o</sup>, *mddhu*<sup>o</sup> and *çund-pṛṣṭha* ('soma<sup>o</sup>', honey<sup>o</sup> and blessing-backed'), in addition to the instances in the text.

<sup>4</sup> I note *soma-pṛṣṭhas* used as an epithet of the press-stones (*ddrayas*) at RV. viii 63. 2.

<sup>5</sup> It is not necessary to regard the feminine as the invariable gender of this stem for water, especially if the word meant primitively 'run,' cf. Lat. *imber* and Grk. *βροτός* 'rain,' both masc. The fem. gender of *aqua* is probably due to its being a woman's work to procure this (cf. the author, Am. Jour. Phil. XV 436, and Mason, Woman's Share in Primitive Culture, p. 25). If we can accept Sibree's interpretation of 'Αγανίππη as 'great water,' we might interpret the sister spring 'Ιππον κρήνη in the same sense, i. e. 'water-well.'

In the *acvatthā*<sup>1</sup>-tree (*ficus religiosa*) we have perhaps another instance of *ācva-* 'water.' It is characteristic of the fig genus 'to abound in milky juice'; it can be inferred that the *acvatthā*-tree shares in this characteristic when we note that *caoutchou* is made from its juice (Encyc. Brit.<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *fig*).

Assuming for the present that Indra and Agni as lightning-wielders are one and the same, RV. x 73. 10<sup>3</sup> may be further cited for *ācva-* 'water':

ācva d iyayēti yād vādanty  
ōjaso jātām utā manya enām  
manyōr iyāya harmyēṣu tasthāu  
yātāh prajajñā indro asya veda

'When they say: "he came from *ācva*"  
Why so I am minded that he is born of *ōjas*  
From *manyū* he came; in our dwellings he hath taken his place.  
Whence Indra was born (Indra alone) *knows* that.'

It is fair to note that this stanza is of the riddling sort<sup>4</sup>: *ācva* is repeated in *manyōr iyāya*, and the intermediary term is *ōjaso jātām*. Ludwig defines *manyōr* by 'eifer,' and *ōjas* by 'stärke.' We may assume that the words were intended to be synonymous. Keeping to the ordinary definition of the words, the birth of Indra is ascribed to a horse, might, zeal; but I propose to render *ācva* by 'water' (cloud), while *ōjas* may be here connected with Grk. *īypos* 'moist,' Lat. *ūmor* 'water,' with -r/-n-inflexion (cf. the author, Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1895, 2. lii), to which *ōjas* shows the parallel -es-stem, like Sk. *āhas* || *āhar* beside *āhan-* (cf. Noreen, Urgerm. Lautlehre, §53, Anm. 1). Nor

<sup>1</sup> Popular etymology doubtless was at work upon the word; *acvatthā* ['horse-stall' (?), cf. Kuhn in K. Z. I 467] is for \**ācva-dhā* 'water-giving' perhaps, or in *ācva-tthā* -*tthā* is a ptc. of *ādā* modelled on -*ttā*, ptc. of *ādā*. Kuhn's explanation of *ttha* as for *sthā* cannot win belief so long as we have *go-ṣṭhā* 'cow-stall'; there is besides a clear tradition in RV. (i 135. 8) that the *acvatthā*-tree was a source of soma (cf. Proc. Am. Or. Soc., Dec. 1894, clxxiii) —which corresponds precisely with the interpretation given in the text for *ācva-pr̥̄ṣṭha* (cf. Kuhn, l. c., 468).

<sup>2</sup> For this and the next stanza see also the author in Proc. Am. Or. Soc., 1895, ccxxxiv.

<sup>3</sup> On the Vedic riddle or *brahmodya*, I refer to Bloomfield, Jour. Am. Or. Soc. XV 172 sq.; of value as fixing the riddling nature is *asya veda*, cf. Bloomfield, l. c., 174, footnote.

is this comparison one of reconstruction entirely, for Yāska, the Vedic interpreter and collector of glosses, defines the word in this sense. I take this occasion to remark that Yāska deserves to be treated with as much respect as a critic as Aristarchus, say, and his glosses are at least as valuable for the linguist as those of Hesychius. As to Indian glosses in general, the discovery of *stigh* in the Māitrāyaṇi-Saṁhitā, known before only by the tradition of the Dhātupāṭha, but worthy of belief already because of *stix*, should have taught Occidental scholars greater reverence for Hindu tradition. The relation of *ójas* 'water' to *ójas* 'strength' need not concern us now, save so far as we see in *manyú* 'zeal' a repetition of *ójas* 'strength,' by way of *double entendre* on the part of the writer. To the translation of *áçvād* by 'water' the preceding stanza seems to point:

cakrāñ yád asyāpsv á niṣattam  
utó tād asmāi mādhv ic cāchadyāt  
prihivyām átiṣitam yád tūdhāḥ  
pāyo gōṣv ádadhā óṣadhiṣu.

This I translate:

'When his *cakrā* has gone down into the *āpas* (clouds, waters),  
Why then it will seem honey to me (*asmāi*):  
What time the udder released o'er the earth  
Hath set milk in the cows and in the herbs.'<sup>1</sup>

This stanza of thanksgiving for rain obviously applies to Indra as a rain-bringer, and is appropriately followed by *áçvād* 'rain.'

In Homer a quite certain case of *íππη* 'water' seems preserved in Δ 500:

ος οι 'Αβυδόθεν ἡλθε παρ' ίππων ὠκειάων,<sup>2</sup>

which I translate: 'who came to him from Abydos, from beside

<sup>1</sup> My translation differs from both Grassmann's and Ludwig's, and accounts for the accented *ddadhā* (which Ludwig would explain as due to its construction with two locatives, as if it were *gōṣu* <*adadhā*>, *ddadhā* *óṣadhiṣu*). I have taken *asmāi* as a demonstrative of the 1st pers., like Lat. *hic*, Sk. *td-* (Wh.<sup>2</sup>, 498). This does not seem to me daring, when we consider the plural stem *asmā-* 'we' (which, after all, need not be for \**g-s-md*, cf. Lat. *nōs*). Further, (the 2d pers.) *tvd-* is used enclitically as a 3d pers. demonstrative (Wh.<sup>2</sup>, 503 δ). The truth is that the 'personal' pronouns are but specialized demonstratives (cf. the author, Am. Jour. Phil. XV 411-14).

<sup>2</sup> I note Homer's epithet of rivers, *ώκυρος* 'swift-flowing.'

the swift waters.' The preposition *παρά* with the genitive can hardly mean anything but 'from beside,' and it seems jejune to translate 'from beside his swift mares,' for Democoon, the person in question, is not otherwise described in the Iliad save in this passage, and so there is no point in mentioning his horses; but to take the words in the way I have suggested as a further description of Abydos on the Hellespont gives them a very definite appropriateness indeed.

The stem to which these substantives belong, represented in Sk. *āgū*, Grk. *ἀκύς* 'swift,' has other forms in which the sense of 'water' may be plainly seen: I cite Sk. *āgū* used as an epithet of *soma* (e. g. RV. i 4. 7); and I further explain Grk. *Οκεανός* 'ocean-stream, river-god' as the result of a syncretism of two genitives, *\*ωκεFos* and *\*ωκFγνός* (>*\*ωκ(r)avos*), this last with the *r/n*-inflection: in the phrase *θεός Ωκεανός* 'god of the water' the original genitive received interpretation as a nominative. Further possible Greek derivatives of this stem are *īk-μás* 'moisture' and *īχώρ* 'blood of the gods, serum,' with *χ* due to the lost gen. *\*īk-vos* (>*\*īχvos*, cf. Curtius, Grdzge.<sup>5</sup>, p. 502, on *κν*>*χν*). But these last words may belong in one group with Sk. *✓ sic* 'sprinkle,' with a loss of the initial aspiration in *īχώρ*. On the other hand, *īππη* has such an abnormal aspiration. Can it be that this was borrowed from a primitive *\*īkμás* (*✓ sic*) 'moisture' standing alongside of *\*īππη* 'water'?

But the initial vowel in the Greek representatives of Latin *equus*, *aqua* is in any case abnormal. How is it to be accounted for? We might refer it to the just-mentioned association with *\*īkμás*. A further way to account for it would be to set beside Aryan *\*ekw-os* 'swift' a stem *\*ēkw-* in gradation with *ἀκύς*.<sup>1</sup> This is possibly retained for us in *ἡπίαλος* 'chill, nightmare (? night-sweat),' which I take to be akin to *Aquilo* 'north-wind,' i. e. 'rain-storm-wind,'<sup>2</sup> though, after all, the *ἡ* may be Attic-

<sup>1</sup> There is still a third vowel-shade in Latin *acupedius*. I cite from Paul. ex. Fest. (p. 9, Müller): *dicebatur cui praecipuum erat in currendo acumen pedum.* Note further *āci-piter* (*acci*<sup>o</sup>) 'swift-wing.' On the relation of the vowels I refer to my 'Agglutination and Adaptation,' Am. Jour. Phil. XV 425.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *horrifer Aquilonis stridor molitur nives* (Att. ap. Cic. Tusc. I 68); *stri-dens Aquilone procella* (Verg. Aen. I 102); *hiems Aquilonibus asperat undas* (ib. III 285). I suggest that Sk. *ūdañc* 'northwards' developed along the same lines from *uddn* 'water.' It is any way not easy to see how *ud* 'out, up' got this meaning; we should expect a 'left' to balance the 'right' of *ddksiñca-*. I suggest in this connection that in Grk. *ἡπειρος* (Aeol. *ᾶπερρος*) 'mainland'

Ionic. However, beside a base \**č̄kw-* there was probably an Aryan doublet *č̄kw-*, a phonetic relation resting on the assumption that Aryan close ē alternated with i (cf. the author, Am. Jour. Phil. XVI 5 sq., and v. Rozwadowski, B. B. XXI 154). I am about to offer, I believe, a proof that in Sanskrit also we have a trace of this vocalization.

I.—I now approach Agni's epithet *Mātarīṣvan*. This term had been very early subjected to popular etymology: thus in RV. iii 29. 11<sup>ed</sup> we read: *mātarīṣvā* [sc. *ucyate*] *yād āmimīta mātāri* | *vātasya sārgo abhavat sārimāni*, which, translated conservatively, means something like 'mātarīṣvā, when he was fashioned in his mother | became a gust of wind for howling.'<sup>1</sup> But possibly the popular etymology went thus: 'When *mātarīṣvā* had roared<sup>2</sup> in his mother,' and took the compound as *mātāri* + *ṣvā* ('dog'), and thus the epithet would be understood of the howling storm-winds or roaring thunder attendant upon the birth of the lightning, *Apām Nāpāt*, in the clouds. This explanation is entirely concordant with the sense of *pāda d.* Back of the popular etymology, however, I would see a \**mātar-iṣvā-n-* (with -n- taken up from *ātharvan*, a closely related attribute of Agni—see below, p. 22) 'bellowing-cloud,'<sup>3</sup> a description of the thunder attendant on lightning. If this conception be right, then *īṣva-n* has the same vocalization as *īṣṇη* 'water.'

(that north and east of Corcyra κατ' ἔξοχήν) we have a development of meaning on similar lines to that in *Aquilo*. This association with the stem *āk̄w-* 'water' lightens the comparison with Germ. *ufer* (cf. Prellwitz, Etym. Wort., s. v. *īπειρος*).

<sup>1</sup> Thus I translate *sārimāni*; cf. Lat. *sermo* 'talk,' *disertus* 'talkative': the root was *ser* || *s̄en* and, by contamination, *s̄er*, cf. Sk. *svar* || *svan* 'sound.' On *s̄w* by 'anticipative rounding' cf. the author, Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1894, I. ix. footnote.

<sup>2</sup> This is to connect the form *āmimīta* with *āmā* 'roar'; it must be remarked, however, that this root in its twelve occurrences and six forms in RV. has no other middle.

<sup>3</sup> I note RV. i 38. 8<sup>ab</sup> *vāc̄rēva vidyān mīmāti* | *vatsdm nd mātā siṣakti* 'the lightning bellows like a cow, like a bellowing <mother> (*mātā*) follows her calf.' It is to be noted in passing that it was perhaps from *mātār-* 'bellowing, <mother>' that the child-word *mama* || *mā* passed over into *mātār-* 'mother,' whence the agential suffix in general for nouns of relationship. The roaring of thunder in the clouds is frequently expressed as 'bellowing' in the classic languages: βροντὴ μυκησαμένη (Aristoph. Nub. 292), βροντῆς μύκημα (Aesch. Prom. 1062), ἡχὸν παραμνάται βροντῆς (ib. 1082); further, Homer describes the roaring of the river Scamander by the words μεμυκὼς ἡύτε ταῦρος (Φ 237), and Vergil (Aen. VI 256) uses *mugire solum* of the rumbling earth.

II.—I proceed to indicate a trace of the popular etymology assumed above, viz. in the name of the Greek god Πάν. The background was \*κάνειν 'dog'; the source of the *an* is 'anticipative rounding' (cf. p. 8, footnote 1), and the vowel-color corresponds with that of Lat. *canis* (cf. *cano* 'sing'). Germ. *hahn* 'cock' is a precisely similar formation, and it is evident that the primary meaning was something like 'crier.'<sup>1</sup> The animal nature of the god Pan is well known.<sup>2</sup> He is usually associated with the goat because of the epithet *Alkyonēs*, interpreted as 'goat-footed,' but the meaning may be, after all, 'with flashing foot,' cf. *aiyis* of the flashing shield of Zeus, but also (Aesch. Cho. 592) of a hurricane.<sup>3</sup> Pan was the god of strange noises, and shared with Apollo (infra, p. 21) the gift of prophecy: both of these characteristics may be traced to a primitive connection with the thunder. Pan was god of the shepherds: what is more likely than for shepherds to worship a divine dog? Further, Pan is the son of Ερμέιας, whose equivalence with the Vedic Sārameya, one of the dogs of the underworld, is, I take it, certain (cf. Kuhn, Z. f. D. A. VI 125; K. Z. II 314; the author, Class. Rev. VII 61). It is surely an easy step to identify Pan, son of Hermes, with a Vedic locution like *gvā Sārameyah*. I find a strong proof of the canine nature of the god Pan in his epithet of Λύκειος, which I refer once more to λύκος 'wolf': no other etymology will account for the Latin name of Pan, Lupercus.

<sup>1</sup> In Greek also the same word was applied to singing birds, viz. in ἀλκυόν, the bird whose song was ἀλ— that is to say, who trilled *I*'s (?). In Lat. *alcedo* we are to see a primitive \*al-*cen*, like *os-cen*, affected by the *-don* || *-dn* suffix of *hirundo* to *alcedo*, with the previous vowel long as in *lubido* and other words of its type where a rhythmic lengthening arose comparable, I suggest, with that in Grk. *σοφώτερος*, from an aversion to four successive shorts—what is known as De Saussure's 'Loi Rythmique'; compare *cupidinis*, but *cupidus*, and (?) *facillimus* (i. e. *facilimus*), but *facilis*. There seems no doubt of the genuineness of *alcedo* (cf. also Curtius, *Grundzg.*, 132); but see Noreen, l. c., p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> In this connection I call attention to the word *πάνθηρ*, which I interpret as the 'roaring animal' *πάνθηρ*. The young panther is specially noted, like the puppy, for its whine. I note also from Tennyson's Oenone: "in the dark morn The panther's roar came muffled." It is possible that *πάν* and *θῆρ* were first inflected as two words; then if \**πάν-* 'roarer' were confused with the neuter *πάν* 'all' in its inflection, and so became \**πάντ-*, we could account by this association for the participial inflection of *λέων*, the roarer by pre-eminence, as due to analogy with this \**πάντ-*. At any rate, *θῆρ* is specially associated with the lion in Homer (cf. L. and Sc., s. v. *θῆρ*), while Euripides (Herc. Fur. 465) uses *θηρός* . . . *λέοντος*.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 25, for the further etymology of *aiyis*.

Perhaps it was from the compound *mātar-iṣvan*, misinterpreted as *mātarī-ṣvan*, that the dog<sup>1</sup> got into the circle of the original nature-deities, though, to be sure, this compound cannot be demonstrated for the Aryan period.<sup>2</sup>

III.—Another of Agni's epithets in the Veda is *tānū-nāpāt*, which has the traditional interpretation of 'self-son,' a recognition that fire is the seed of fire, and perhaps this etymology is not too *recherché* to allow even to a primitive people. I venture, however, to suggest in its place a less metaphysical one. Exception can also be taken to the prevailing explanation from the standpoint of the accent of the compound: *tānū-nāpāt*, but *tānū* 'body, self.' We may not assume a regular accentual change from *tānūnāpāt* because of *mitrāvāruṇā*. Now, the double accent implies a dvandva compound. I compare *jāspāti* 'family and master' with *jāspati* 'lord of the family.' I therefore interpret *tānū nāpāt* as *tānū* and *nāpāt*—that is to say, 'thunder and lightning.' In *tānū*<sup>o</sup> we have the 'dual' form of dvandvas,<sup>3</sup> lost, however, in <sup>o</sup>*nāpāt* (for <sup>o</sup>*nāpātāu*) because the entire compound is an epithet of the singular Agni (*Apām Nāpāt*).

In general semasic support of this proposition I note that Jupiter, the lightning-wielder, had among the Romans the epithet of *Tonans* 'the thunderer.' The primitive Aryan root was *tar* || *tan* 'thunder.' The Scandinavian divinity *Thor* warrants the *r*-form,<sup>4</sup> while in O.H.G. *Donar* we have a syncretic form. In Latin *tonitru* we have both the *r*- and *n*-forms in reduplication. It may be urged against this conception of *tānū*<sup>o</sup> that there is no Sanskrit \**tānū-* in simplex: true, but there is no Sanskrit \**tanar* either. We might infer, however, a simple *u*-stem from the stems *TANAYI-TN-ū*, *tanyati* (for \**tanyatru*?), *tanyū*; we have besides *tonitru* in Latin a *tonus* 'thunder,' and this we must suppose is an original word, and not identical with the loan-word *τόνος* 'tone'; and, in fact, this seems almost implied in the passage that is our authority for this word: *antiqui autem tonitrum dixerunt aut tonum* (Senec. Q. N. II 56). I note further from RV. the word

<sup>1</sup> For the Indiran dogs in mythology, one of which was, in all probability, identical with Greek *Kέρβερος*, I refer to Kaegi's Rig-Veda, notes 274, 274<sup>a</sup>; these dogs of the underworld are also known in Roman, Celtic and Germanic mythology (cf. e. g. Ladewig on Verg. Aen. VI 257).

<sup>2</sup> But the two parts of the compound are to be found in the legend of Demeter Erinnys (infra, p. 19).

<sup>3</sup> On these compounds cf. the author in Am. Jour. Phil. XV 430.

<sup>4</sup> On this interchange of *r/n* in roots, cf. the author, Am. Jour. Phil. XVI 22.

*stāmu* 'roaring, thundering,' which may be compared with Grk. *στόμα* 'mouth' (with *n*-inflection), *στωμύ-λος* 'chattering.' The root was *s>tam*, to which our root *s>tan*<sup>1</sup> was doubtless a by-form. In view of all the *-u*-stems given, we can hardly go amiss in the reconstruction of a Sanskrit *\*s>tānu* 'thunder,' warranted by the dualic compound *tānūnāpāt* 'thunder and lightning.'

IV.—A third epithet of Agni is *nārācānsa*, which Grassmann interprets hesitatingly as "der Männer Lob." I note that this compound, like *tānūnāpāt*, has two accents and a dualized first term; I would therefore interpret it as 'nāra and cānsa.' To this interpretation the Veda itself leads us, for in RV. x 64. 3 we have the two terms separated, *nārā vā cānsam*. This compound, though used pre-eminently of Agni, is also used of *Puṣan*. These divinities agree as dispensers of light; further, Agni is the seer (*kavī*) *kar' ēfōxήν* and *Puṣan* is a divine guide on earth and, like Hermes, to the place of the dead (*ψυχορυπός*); we may therefore regard them as variant personifications of the same divinity.<sup>2</sup> It is further to be noted that *Cānsa* is the name of a divinity associated with *Bhdga*, and this latter is of frequent association with *Puṣan*. There is no reason for us to separate *Cānsa* from *✓cāns*, which Grassmann defines by 'feierlich aussagen'; I therefore propose for our epithet the rendering 'prophet.'

Let us turn now to the first half of the compound *nārā*<sup>o</sup>: Agni enjoys with Indra, for both are the lightning, the epithets *n̄t-t-ama* 'manliest' and *n̄t-t-ū* 'dancing,' epithets ultimately akin to *✓n̄r* || *n̄r-t-* 'dance <the war-dance>' and *n̄g* 'warrior' (cf. the author, Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1894, vii). With these I would connect *nārā*<sup>o</sup> and define by 'leaping,' a characterization of the lightning, as *cānsa* 'prophesying' is a characterization of the thunder; the compound *nārācānsa* is thus resolved into 'lightning and thunder,' or, more simply, 'leaping and roaring.'

In support of this explanation of *nārā*<sup>o</sup> I bring forward the Greek god-name *Nyprēus*. This divinity, the son of *Πόντος* 'the deep,' spoke sooth and recked of justice (Hes. Theog. 235 sq.), qualities that clung to him perhaps from his associate *Cānsa* 'the prophetic voice of the thunder.' The part lightning plays with

<sup>1</sup> Sk. *✓tan* || *stan*; I note the additional *u*-stem *standhu*. In Greek we seem to have the *-r*-form of the root in *στεροπή* and *ἀστραπή*, the latter with the weakest grade of the preposition *ἐν* as its prefix; cf. Lat. *intonare*.

<sup>2</sup> According to Henry (on AV. vii 9), *Puṣan* is unquestionably a solar god, the wandering sun.

primitive people as a manifestation of the divine will is too well known to require discussion. From the standpoint of the form the agential ending *-eūs*, so common in proper names, has affected in Greek the god-name *Ἄρης* to *Ἀρεύς*. The *η* of *Νηρεύς* is not a representative of the Sk. *ā*, but has been lengthened by de Saussure's 'loi rythmique' to suit the exigencies of the hexameter verse: this lengthening doubtless took place first in the masc. patronymic *\*Νηρεΐδαι* along, say, with *Νηλεΐδαι* (Ψ 652), and in Hesiod we have, in fact, as a v. l. (Vatic. 1409 in marg.) the fem. patronymic *Νηρεΐδες* for Homer's *Νηρηΐδες*.

*Νηρεύς* is palpably but another name for *Πρωτεύς*, the other old man of the sea, who also speaks sooth (δ 384 sq.). The Romans have a corresponding deity in *Portunus* (with suffix like that of *Neptunus*), interpreted by popular etymology as the 'harbor-god.' The Aryan base of both words is *\*pṛ-to*, Grk. *πρώτος* 'first.' In the Rig-Veda, too, the epithet *prathama-jā*<sup>1</sup> 'first-born' shows traces of association with Agni (*Apām nāpāt*).<sup>2</sup>

We ask ourselves now why the term 'first' came to be applied to the god of lightning. The answer to this question is furnished by the god *Tritā Āptyā* (<*\*n̄pt-ya-*), a descendant of *Apām nāpāt*. With this parentage Trita invites identification with *Tpītraw*, son of Poseidon. The story of how Triton aided the gods in the battle with the giants by blowing on his conch is comparable with the services rendered by Trita to Indra in battle (cf. e. g. RV. x 8. 8), and with his service in blowing up the fire (Agni) like a blacksmith (RV. v 9. 5). This suggests that Trita is the thunder, and we may therefore see in *Tpītraw* an intensive form from *ṭ̄tan* with reduplication in reversed order to that of Lat. *tonitru*: an example of this variation is furnished by Grk. *καρκίνος* (Lat. *can-cer* 'crab.') The Aryan form *\*t̄g-ton-* was confused

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further *purōhita* of Agni, which means 'set-before'; this sense is also inherent in *Agni*: *ṛāj* 'lead' (infra, p. 24). I call attention to RV. i 1, 1 *Agnim iṣe purōhitam* 'Agni I worship, the leader,' etc.

<sup>2</sup> The epithet is used twice of Agni (x 5. 7; 61, 19); once of the *āpas devās* (x 109. 1); once of Bṛhaspati (i. e. Agni?) as the thunderer and sender of lightning (vi 73. 1); once of Vāyu (= *Apām sākhā*) as the bringer of rain (x 168. 3); once in a riddling hymn (i 164. 37), where the application to Agni is probable; once of Brahman (iii 29. 15); and twice, in one phrase, of the dragon whom Indra slew for holding back the waters (i 32. 3-4). It is thus shown that the word never went far beyond its application to Agni as *Apām nāpāt*.

in the primitive period with *\*tri-to*<sup>1</sup> 'third.' The result of this confusion<sup>2</sup> was a series of numeral divinities that crop out here and there in the derived languages. Thus we have in the Vedas a *Dvitā* 'second' to balance *Tritā* 'third,' and Agni was, as we have seen above, *prathamajā* 'first-born.' In the old Norse mythology Odhin bears the epithets of *Thridhi* 'third' and *Tveggi* 'second.' In Greek, in addition to *Tρίτων* 'third,' we have *Πρώτος* 'first,' while in Latin we have *Portunus* 'first.' Possibly we have in Latin *Dis*, a name of Hades, an original 'second'; *Dvitā* is in the Rig-Veda (v 18. 2) an epithet of Agni, who, like Hades, is lord of all wealth.<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps more than a coincidence that *\*Αἰδης* ('Αἰδης by popular etymology) is called *τρίταρος* by Homer (O 188), and is inferentially *πρώτος* in Hesiod (Theog. 455). *\*Αἰδης* (without the 'pietistic'<sup>4</sup> rough breathing) may be etymologically connected with Lat. *aedes* 'sacred fire' (:/indh || ind) and with Sk. *idā* (cf. *supra*, p. 1).

From *Tρίτων* we are able to fix the character of Pallas Athene, who has the epithets *Tριτογένεια*<sup>5</sup> and *Α-τρον-τάνη*. On the latter epithet the etymological talent of the Greeks has been at work, either popularly or in the person of the Homeric diaskeuasts. I would see in this epithet a composition of the preposition *\*η* (the weakest form of *ἐν*, cf. Sk. *ā*) and */tan* as in Latin *intonare* 'to thunder'; the change from *τ* (cf. *Tρίτων*) to *ī* (i. e. *ii*) is not

<sup>1</sup> The Arýan *ṛ*-vowel was doubtless about what we have in the first syllable of our English 'pretty.' The Sk. roots in *-ṛ* make passive in *-ri-*, e. g. *mriyate*: *ṛ/mṛ*, which is, I take it, orthographic for *\*mryate*. The *i* of *Tρίτων* is like *i* in the Sk. intensive stem *var-i-vṛt-*, while *i* in Lat. *ton-i-tru* is like the *i* in Sk. *tar-i-tṛ-*.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonnell takes the numeral literally in his *Mythological Studies* (J. R. A. S., July, 1893, 419 sq.), so far as I am able to infer from the citation in I. F. Anz. III, p. 224: "We thus find that the cumulative evidence of the Rig-Veda, of comparative mythology, and of the Avesta combine to prove that Trita in his original nature was the third or lightning form of fire. This was his character in the Indo-Iranian period . . . possibility of Trita having been the name of lightning even in the Indo-European period . . . Odhin bears in the old Norse mythology the epithet *Thridhi*, the third—as well as *Tveggi*, the second."

<sup>3</sup> We should expect, of course, *bit-* in Latin (<*dvit-*), but there is doubtless association with the stem *dīvit- || dit-* 'rich.' Note, however, the preposition *di-* 'apart' (Lindsay, Lat. Lang., p. 582).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> One of the myths makes Athena the daughter of Poseidon and Tritonis, and from this connection with Poseidon her relation to the fire-divinity is rendered more probable.

difficult phonetically, and took its start perhaps from *ἀ-τρυῖς* 'indefatigable.' The brandished spear of Παλλὰς (cf. πάλλω 'brandish' and Arist. Av. 1714 *πάλλων κεραυνόν* 'brandishing a thunder-bolt') was a figure to describe her as the lightning-wielder. Latin *Minerva* has perhaps a similar semasy and may be compared with *mināri* 'to threaten.' In Ἀθάνα I see a Greek epithet of Pallas meaning 'immortal' and related to *ἀθάνατος*.<sup>1</sup>

I have explained (in Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1894, i. vii) Indra as a cognate of Ares and Mars<sup>2</sup> (for *\*Nars*), all deriving from *✓nr-t*. 'leap.' *Indra* is therefore to be connected with *nára*<sup>o</sup>. Greek and Roman mythology have given to Zeus and Jupiter the control of the lightning, and so Ares and Mars seem rather pale in this respect as compared with Indra; but, besides general considerations (cf. Buchholz, Hom. Realien, III 150), the epithets *δρημος* 'mighty' (*δημος* 'rain,' cf. Grassmann, K. Z. XII 91)<sup>3</sup> and *Ἐνυάλος*? 'the rainer' (*ἐν + γάλω* 'rain on'?) testify perhaps to the original state of things.

One might expect on *a-priori* grounds a connection between Indra and Agni (*Apām Nāpāt*). I note as a general consideration that in the hymns to the so-called dual-divinities, those to Indrāgni are commonest,<sup>4</sup> and I call especial attention to the fact that Indra and Agni are in one place (RV. i 109. 4) called Aćvins<sup>5</sup>: these last I shall presently discuss.

But I return to the compound *Nărā-ğānsa* to seek for etymological kin of the last member, turning first to the Italic field. One of the earliest Roman traditions was that of the Rape of the Sabines: this event took place at a feast to *Neptunus Equester*

<sup>1</sup> For the etymology of *áthávaros* cf. the author, Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1894, I. ix, footnote 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. further the author, l. c., 1895, lxviii.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot agree with the comparison of Sk. *agrīmds* (Prellwitz, s. v.  $\delta\beta\pi\mu\sigma$ ) 'voranstehend': this cannot be separated from *āj* 'drive', *āw*. I note that the paled-out meaning of 'powerful' in  $\delta\beta\pi\mu\sigma$  beside  $\delta\beta\pi\sigma$  'rain' is paralleled in *ōjas* 'power' and 'rain' (supra, p. 5) and in Sk. *ugrd-* 'powerful' beside *īyprō* 'moist.'

\* The statistics are: Indra and Agni, 11; Indra and Varuṇa, 7; Indra and Soma, 3; Indra and Pūṣan, 1; Indra and Viṣṇu, 1; Soma and Rudra, 1; Soma and Pūṣan, 1; and Agni and the Maruts, 1. It is noteworthy that in all the hymns but three, Indra is the first member of the compound, and this would imply that the term had an original adjective value (cf. the author on Mitra and Varuna, *Am. Jour. Phil.* XV 430, footnote 2).

<sup>5</sup> The horsemen; cf. on Agni's relation to the horse, p. 3, and on Indra's p. 5.

called the *Consualia* (Liv. I 9): we get from other sources the name *Consus* for the god of this festival. There can be no objection, from the phonetic point of view, to equating *Consus* directly with the Vedic *Çānsas* and with the latter half of *Ndrā-çānsas*, and I again note that *Apām Nápāt* = *NEPT-unus* is a perfect semasic equation,<sup>1</sup> and a perfect phonetic one so far as *Nápāt* is concerned.

But we have this epithet in Greek also, in the name of one of the *Dioskouroi*, *Káστωρ* (<\*κῆστο-τωρ-). It needs no argumentation to prove a legendary and functional similarity between the *Dioskouroi* and the *Açvins* (cf. e. g. Kaegi's Rig-Veda, n. 171, and the literature there cited); it only remains to get at the verbal connection: *κάστωρ* is an agential noun to  $\sqrt{\hat{k}ans}$  'proclaim,' used of the prophetic voice of the thunder. The character of the *Dioskouroi* as horsemen is as well established as that of the *Açvins*, and if the relation of \**ekwe-* 'horse' to \**aqa-* 'water' be established, we are prepared to see in these horsemen 'cloudmen, storm-clouds,' the attendants of *Apām Nápāt*, the lightning. In *Káστωρ*, therefore, the tamer of horses (clouds), we see the thunder, and in *Πολυδεύκης*, who was famed as a boxer, the lightning-stroke. As to the separate names of the *Açvins*, the Veda does not inform us,<sup>2</sup> and no reliance can be placed in Çäunaka's statement (Bṛhaddevatā, vi 33) that they were called *Nāsatyas* and *Dasras*, for he merely adapts two epithets of the *Açvin*-pair from Rig-Veda. Similarly the Greek *Πολυδεύκης* very nearly reflects an epithet of the *Açvins*, viz. *puru-dánsas-*, which has been compared with *πολυδήμης* \* *πολύβουλος*. The earliest authority for *πολυδήμης* is the Hesychian gloss *πολυδήμεα* \* *πολύβουλον*. We may, however, compare *Πολυδεύκης* with *Puruddánsas-*, after the following fashion: \**dañsas-* may be for \**dañcas-*, with an assimilation of spirants which is almost the rule in Sanskrit (cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gram., §197). Now, if we operate with \**dañç-as-* this would correspond to \**δευκ-ε-* in Greek. Can *γκ* (i. e. *nk*) give *υκ*? J. Schmidt (Vocalismus, I 181) distinctly maintains that the group vowel + nasal + cons. results in a *v*-diphthong, say *an**k* gives *au**k* (reported by Bezzenger, B. B. IV 350). In favor of this phonetic treatment is *αιχύν* 'throat,' Aeolic *ἄμφην*, which belongs with *ἄγχω* 'choke,' cf. O. Pruss. *w-insus* 'throat,' Goth. *hals-agga*.

<sup>1</sup> Objection will not hold on account of the order, for at RV. ii 35. 11 we have *ndptur apām*.

<sup>2</sup> Unless indeed they are Indra and Agni; cf. above, p. 14, and footnote 5.

Another example is *ξανθός* 'tawny,' which alternates with *ξονθός* 'tawny.' Bezzenger (l. c., 352) objects that in *αὐχήν* we have the 'velar' and in O. Pruss. *w-insus* the 'palatal,' but the interchange of 'velars' and 'palalats' is simply undeniable (cf. Noreen, Urgerm. Lautlehre, §55, and Bartholomae, Grundriss d. iran. Philologie, I, §54). As to *ξανθός* || *ξονθός*, Bezzenger makes a point on *ον* instead of *αν*. To me the confusion of *ou* and *au* in the primitive Greek period seems the easiest of all things to grant. I note *οὐς* 'ear': Lat. *aur-is*, *οἰωνός* 'bird' (<\**oFi-ωνός*?): Lat. *av-is*. Here there has been, either in Greek or in Latin, a confusion of *au* with *ou*. Such a confusion I suppose to have taken place in *ξονθός* for *\*ξανθός*. It seems to me that the testimony of *αὐχήν* and *ξονθός* cannot be fairly rejected, and so *\*-δευκ-* may have given *-δευκ-*, in some Greek dialect at least. Granting this, we can ascribe <sup>o</sup>*δευκ-es-* and Sk. <sup>o</sup>*dans-as-* to a base *\*denk-es*.

One word needs to be said concerning Sk. *\*danç-as-*: it will belong with the verb-stem *daçasy-* 'hülfreich sein.' Thus, at RV. viii 5. 23 it is said of the Açvins: *yuváni káñváya . . . çáçvad* *üttr daçasyathah* 'ye two always bestow help on Káñva'; while *purudánsas-* is defined by Böhlingk 'reich an wunderbaren wirkungen.'

The explanation of *Κάστωρ* as the prophetic voice of the thunder leads us to interpret *Κασταλία* as the 'spring of the prophetic muses.' Here we can compare Lat. *Casmena* || *cámena* 'muse' (<\**casmena*?).

Possibly we have the entire compound *Náráçánsa* in Greek, but with its members in reversed order, in the name of *Κασσάνδρη*, the prophetic daughter of *Πρίαμος* [<\**priyñmos* = Lat. *primus* 'first' (?), cf. supra on *Πρωτεύς*]. We can but regard this as another form of *Καστάνειρα*, the name of one of the wives of Priam. In *Κασσο*<sup>o</sup> I see a development out of *\*κλοτύ-*, while <sup>o</sup>*ανδρη* || <sup>o</sup>*ανειρα* is a feminine doublet to *ἀνήρ* (supra, p. 11). To justify this notion from the semasic point of view, it is essential to note that Cassandra was a twin with Helenus. Just so the Dioskouroi were of one birth with Helena. Are these names also to be explained as epithets, originally at least, of the fire-divinity?

V. 'Ελένη, 'Ελενος.—By way of reinforcement to the suggestion just made, I note that *Ελένη* is cited by Hesychius in the sense of 'torch,' a sense that may be reconciled with the literary value of 'basket' by considering that both are made of splinters of wood. If we have here an original light-divinity, then there must be

connection with Lat. *sol* 'sun' and O.H.G. *sun-na* (with interchange of *r*, (*l*) and *n*; cf. Noreen, *Urgerm. Lautlehre*, §53, 1, and the author, *Am. Jour. Phil.* XV 432).<sup>1</sup> In Sanskrit the form is *svār*, where the *v* is, I take it, parasitic (supra, p. 9), and the primitive stem may be written *sar* || *s"an* and, by contamination, *s"ar*. With the stem in this condition, the relation of Σελήνη 'moon' becomes clear: the relation of 'Ελένη to Σελήνη is just that of *īs* to *ōs*. We have in Sk. *svārāṇa-* 'shining' the precise stem.

But 'Ελένη as sister to the Dioskouroi suggests a more definite mythological connection. Spite of differences in the suffix,<sup>2</sup> she seems identical in many important mythic points with *Saranyū*, mother of the Aćvins. This mysterious divinity is known to us by a pair of isolated stanzas in RV. (x 17. 1-2), which seems to be of the nature of a riddle (*brahmodya*, cf. Bloomfield, *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.* XV 172 sq.). These run [in Bloomfield's translation (l. c., 173)]: "Tvaṣṭar is instituting a marriage-pageant for his daughter: at this news <all the people of> this earth come together. Yama's mother, while being married, the wife of mighty Vivasvant, disappeared. They hid away the immortal woman from the mortals; making a *sávarṇā* (a like one, *double entendre*; one like Saranyū in appearance, and like Vivasvant in character, or caste), they gave her to Vivasvant. Moreover, when that had taken place, she bore (? carried) the two Aćvins; she abandoned, you know, two pairs—Saranyū." As additional detail to this (which Lanman, *Notes to Reader*, p. 381, pronounces "a braw story, but unco short") Yaska tells us (Lanman's translation, l. c.): "Tvaṣṭar's daughter, Saranyū, bore twins (Yama and Yami) to Vivasvant. She foisted upon him another female of the same appearance (*sávarṇām*), and, taking on the form of a mare, fled forth. Vivasvant took on the form of a horse, followed her, and coupled with her. From that were born the two Aćvins or 'Horse-men.'" Of the *sávarṇā* was born *Manu*. Now, in the myth of Helen almost every single one of these incidents has a correspondence. 1st, Tyndareus made a marriage for his daughter and to this all the princes of Greece

<sup>1</sup> For the relation of the two significations of *swar* || *swan* 'shine' and 'sound,' cf. Bloomfield, *I. F.* IV 76, footnote, and the author, *Am. Jour. Phil.* XVI 25.

<sup>2</sup> This suffix difference is precisely comparable with *manā* || *manyū* 'wrath,' *pṛtanā* || *pṛtanyū* 'enemy,' *turdṇā* || *turanyū* 'hastening,' etc. See also the next footnote.

came; 2d, both the women eloped; 3d, in one of the Helen stories, not the true Helen, but 'one just like her,' fulfilled the elopement with Paris, while the true Helen was detained in Egypt by none other than King Proteus! 4th, Helen was not captured till her husband, among others, got into Troy by means of a wooden horse which he had been directed to make by Helenus—a detail for which we can now gain a sensible explanation for the first time; 5th, both women are associated with the Dioskouroi = Açvins, Helen as twin-sister (quartuplets, in two pairs) and Saranyū as mother; 6th, there is a further story that Paris deceived Helen by taking the precise form of Menelaus. I submit that these correspondences are enough to establish the identity of the two tales.

There are also more etymological correspondences than that between *Saranyū* and 'Ελένη. In *Tvastar* I see an agential noun *to s>tar || t<sup>w</sup>an (>t<sup>w</sup>ar)*, a primitive *\*(s>)twn-s-tar* 'thunderer,' while back of *Tvndápeos* I posit a *\*t<sup>w</sup>yn-tr-*, whence *\*tund-r-*. In 'Ερμι-ιόνη, the name of Helen's daughter, we have perhaps, in its last part, *Yamī* (-ιόνη < *\*i*yamya), and the first part of Μερέ-λαος is possibly akin to *Manu*; but on these points I do not insist. For the possible equivalence of Πολυθείκης and *puruḍaṇas* see above, p. 15.

As to the suffix, 'Ελένη would correspond to a Sk. *\*Saraṇā*, which might have a by-form *\*Saraṇī*. In the sole Vedic form *Saranyū-s* we may have *\*Saraṇī* affected by *vadhū-s<sup>1</sup>* 'bride' (note that *vahatūm* 'wedding' occurs in the passage); but on the relation of the *-a* and *-yū*-suffixes see last page, footnote 2.

The only obstacle to this comparison from the mythological standpoint lies in the Greek goddesses, the Erinyes. Kuhn (K. Z. I 439) compared 'Ερινύς with *Saranyū*. The phonetic objections to his comparison are not, in my opinion, insuperable, viz. the loss of the rough breathing, and the abnormal vocal color of τ. For the

<sup>1</sup> In RV. -ā is a not infrequent suffix for the names of goddesses and women. I note *Kṛkadāčī* 'a demon,' *Guṅgī* 'a goddess' (named along with *Sarasvatī*, and probably a variant form of *Gdīgā*), *agṛī* 'maiden,' *çvācṛī* 'mother-in-law.' Other -ā-stems show a connection with words for 'water': *cam-ā* 'drinking-vessel,' *kadr-ā* 'brown soma-vessel,' *mehatn-ā* 'river,' *nabhan-ā* 'spring,' the two first being probably affected by *Juhū* 'ladle' and the two last by *Guṅgī*. The Greek divinities in -ā (infra in the text) are sea-divinities, and *Saranyū* is, by the terms of the supposition, a relative of *Apām ndpāt*; furthermore, *Saranyū* as 'mare' would possibly be affected by *āçū* 'swift, horse.'

Erinyes in their character as avenging deities there is no mythical connection worth mentioning. Kuhn, however, reports from Pausanias (VIII 25) a story of Demeter Erinnys, to whom there was a temple at Thelpusa in Arcadia: 'While in search of her daughter Poseidon was following her to enjoy her, and she turned herself into a mare; Poseidon thereupon became a horse and coupled with her; at first she was angry, but afterwards cooled off by bathing in a river, and hence she received the name Erinys, because *ἐρινύειν* means among the Arcadians "to be angry." Thereupon she bore a daughter and the horse Areion, whence Poseidon received his epithet of Hippios.' Later (ch. 42) Pausanias tells us that, according to another tradition, 'she had borne no horse, but a daughter known as Despoina; in her anger at Poseidon and grief for the loss of Persephone she put on mourning and concealed herself for a long time in a hole; drouth and famine resulted, and Zeus finally had to send and beseech Demeter to return among the gods; the hole where the goddess hid was consecrated, and a statue of her with a horse's head set up there.'

Now, as to the epithet *'Ερινύς*, we have no right to reject the derivation of Pausanias; and I would therefore stick by the connection with *ἔρις* 'strife,' for this suits the character of the Erinyes perfectly. The ending *-νύς* is capable of having originated on Greek soil. I note *'Ενυ-ώ* 'goddess of war' and *'Ενυ-άλιος* 'god of war': *'Εριννύ-ς* is perhaps in special relation with this pair, and meant 'begetter of strife' (<*ἔρις* + *υ-ώ*, Sk. *✓ sū-* 'bring forth'); but, in any case, there is ample warrant in Greek, as in the Veda (supra, p. 18, footnote), for god-names in *-ν-ς*, e. g. *ō Φόρκυς* and *η Τηθύς*.

VI. *Demeter*.—But, even though we explain away the epithet *'Εριννύς* of Demeter, there still remain points of similarity between the myth cited and the Saranyū-story. To the explanation of this resemblance I now address myself. If we regard this epithet *'Εριννύς* as sufficiently accounted for by its relation to *ἐρινύειν* 'be angry,' we can find in the name of *Δη-μήτηρ* a special reason for the legend. I infer from the short name *Δηώ* that <sup>o</sup>*μήτηρ* is but an epithet, and from *Δαμάτηρ* we can perhaps infer to *\*Δαϝώ* (cf. Thess. *Δάϝων*, Cauer, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, No. 394): *✓ dāv* 'burn.' Thus we can account for the Aeolic form *Δωμάτηρ* (with a short form *Δώρ*, according to the MS reading of *Hymn. Hom. V 122*) by assuming a contraction from *\*Δαϝώ-*, as we have the right to do

in Aeolic where *F* followed a long vowel.<sup>1</sup> If we conceive this goddess as a fire-divinity<sup>2</sup> also, then in <sup>o</sup>*ματηρ* we can see a part of the epithet *Mätar-içvan* (supra, p. 8), while the story that she turned to a mare may have been suggested by the last part of the compound <sup>o</sup>*ïçvan* (nom. *ïçvā* = Grk. *ἵππη* 'mare') before its loss in Greek. Her pursuer was Poseidon (*Apām Ndpāt*), another form of the fire-divinity. The conception of Demeter shows traces of a connection with fire in her attribute of a torch, for she was said to have lighted torches to go in search of her lost daughter Persephone. Some special correspondences may be made out between the Agni myths and the Demeter myths. The goddess in her wrath withdrew from earth, and famine came upon it, until Zeus finally sent Hermes to propitiate her. So likewise Agni withdrew from the gods and hid, and had to be won over to return by Varuṇa, for, as the sacrificer, his absence was causing distress to the gods (cf. RV. x 51). Demeter's function as goddess of civilization reminds, further, of the legend of Agni Vaiçvānarā (Çat. Bräh. i 4, 1, 10-18).

Popular etymology had, however, been at work on the name, and *Δη-μάτηρ* was felt as *Γῆ μήτηρ*: the latter divinity was a special antithesis for *Ζεύς πατήρ*, Mother-Earth)(Father-Sky. It is natural to believe that *Δημάτηρ* is thoroughly mixed in her attributes with *Γῆ μήτηρ*. Of course, when <sup>o</sup>*μάτηρ* 'roaring' was understood as 'mother' (cf. supra, p. 8), the divinity became feminine.

I state now in brief outline the processes involved in the origin of the myth of Demeter Erinnys and Poseidon. The lightning-god, Poseidon (*Apām ndpāt*), had, let us suppose, a primitive Greek epithet *\*mätar-ik"ā* 'roaring cloud,' or 'possessing a roaring cloud.' This epithet was also attached to *\*dāv-ō* 'fire' (=

<sup>1</sup> The contraction of *āv* to *ā* in Aeolic is not proved by Hoffmann, Dial. II 296, 293. The fem. gen. plur. in *-āv* for *-āsōv* (?) is suspicious, for the consciousness of gender may have been felt. *Ποσειδῶν* falls by my explanation of *-idāv* as gen. plur. to *\*idā* under the same conditions (cf. supra, p. 3). Moreover, as *Ποσειδῶν* and *Πλάν* are names of the same divinity perhaps, it may well be that they have been assimilated in their final syllables. It is not absolutely necessary, however, to regard the variant syllable *Δa- || Δω-μάτηρ* as a contraction of *\*ΔaFω-ματηρ*: it may be simply the result of some capricious choice of vowels in shortening the dissyllable to a monosyllable. So in Attic *Δημάτηρ* we have no contraction, but simply a choice of the vowel *ā* out of *ΔaFω-*. Here we must reckon with popular etymology: the *Δη-* in Attic-Ionic *Δημάτηρ* may be charged to *Γῆ* 'earth'; while *Δω-* of *Δωμάτηρ* may be due to *δῶμα* 'house.'

<sup>2</sup> I note especially *Δη-άνειρα*, the wife of Hercules, who 'burnt her husband' alive, and who had the short name *Δηώ* (Smyth, Grk. Dialects, I, p. 630).

lightning),' whence, finally, by fresh composition and decomposition, *Δαμάτηρ* ἴππη; thence came a story describing the bawler (°μάτηρ) as furious ('Ερινύς<sup>1</sup>).

VII. *Apollo*.—Schroeder has, I take it, proved the substantial correspondence of Apollo and Agni in point of original functions (K. Z. XXIX 193 sq.). I cannot believe, however, in the kinship of the name 'Απόλλων with Sk. *saparyenya*, a hapaxlegomenon vocative epithet of Agni in RV., for the suffixes are too dissimilar and the meaning of the epithet, 'one to be honored,' is rather too pale. A suspicious circumstance to me is the loss of the rough breathing (infra, p. 24). Apollo and Poseidon are both individualizations of epithets of Agni. Associations of Apollo and Poseidon in Greek mythology bring light upon this point: they were, for example, co-founders of Troy, and Poseidon preceded Apollo in the possession of the oracle at Delphi (cf. also above, p. 11, for the prophetic character of Poseidon's doubles, Πρωτεύς and Νηρεύς). It is right to mention here that the first possessor of this oracle was Γαῖα (Γῆ) μήτηρ, confused perhaps with Δαμάτηρ as explained above.

I find in RV. two epithets of Agni that may lie at the base of the name 'Απόλλων. The first of these is *aptūr*, defined by Grassmann as 'geschäftig, emsig,' and translated by Ludwig as 'Wasser erbeutend.' The latter is, in my opinion, the more exact rendering. I take the epithet to have belonged originally to the lightning as rain-bringer, and to this the statistics of usage conform. The term is used in RV. *once* of Agni, *twice* of Indra (= *thrice* of the lightning); *once* of Indu (i. e. Soma) and *thrice* of Soma (= *four* times of the heavenly Soma, i. e. rain); *once* of the Viçve Devas along with a petition translated by Ludwig "sollen eilig zum Saefe kommen"; *once* of the eagles of the Açvins (cf. *āçvā* 'water,' supra, p. 3). There is further *one* occurrence of the abstract *aptūrya*, used of Agni and Indra. Now, if we operate with *aptūrya* as an adjective stem like *aptūr*, and take North Thessalian \*Απλούν- into account, along with 'Απόλλων, we can account for \*Απόλλο- as \*Απόλυο (for Απτολυο<\*Aptīyo-), with

<sup>1</sup> Kuhn (l. c., p. 467) connects with this epithet ἐρινεός 'the wild fig-tree,' and brings into the comparison the story of how Agni hid himself once in a fig-tree (the *āçvatthā*), after having turned himself into a horse. But *Mātarīçvan* is the name of the Vedic Prometheus who brought the hidden Agni out of the kindling sticks by rubbing, and one of these sticks was of *āçvatthā* wood, which amply accounts for the Hindu legend.

loss of  $\tau$  because of *Απλον-* (for *\*Απτλωγο-*). The addition of  $-\pi$  to the stem would be an affection from *Ποσειδάων*. If we see in *°tur* of *aptur* Aryan *°tr̥<sub>2</sub>*,<sup>1</sup> then we can account for the graded forms *'Απέλλων*, etc., by noting how gradation acted in the agential suffix *°tr̥<sub>1</sub>*. Cyprian *'Απείλων-ι*, if genuine, makes for the assumption of the extension of the stem by *-yo*. Another point in favor of this explanation is that it possibly accounts for the varying quantity of the initial syllable (*'άπ°*, i. e. *άπτ°*). I note also that Athena has the epithet *'Οπτλέτις*, which is perhaps to be compared with *aptur*.

But there is another Vedic personage with whom *'Απόλλων* is possibly to be identified, viz. *Ātharvan*, a mythic person 'who came from heaven, fetched fire to the earth, honored the gods and slew evil things' (cf. Grassmann, s. v.). In Avestan we have two forms of this name, *āp̥rava* with a case-form *āp̥aurunē*. Like the first of these forms is *\*Απλονν* (<*\*απλοβον*; for  $\tau\lambda>\pi\lambda$  cf. the author, Am. Jour. Phil. XIII 463 sq.; Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc. for 1892, xxiii sq., 1894, 1. ix), while *'Απόλλων* is for *\*άπολβον*, with  $\pi$  for  $\tau$ , from the form *\*Απλονν*, and so corresponds with Sk. *ātharvan*. We nowhere have, however, any forms showing  $\lambda\mathcal{F}$  or  $\lambda$  with compensative lengthening, and the Cyprian form *'Απείλων-ι* seems to demand a stem *\*άπελγο-*. But this form is of doubtful genuineness, for in inscriptions from the same locality of an earlier date the form *'Απόλλωνι* is found (cf. Joh. Schmidt, K. Z. XXXII 328), and, indeed, on an earlier portion of the same inscription. Apollo's character as a 'terrible god of death, sending virulent pestilences and dealing out destruction to men and animals by means of his unerring arrows,' allows us to reasonably assume that there was popular association with *άπόλλυμι*. Touching the variation of *ε* and *o* in this stem, I believe Joh. Schmidt has given the right explanation when he attributes it to the infection of a vocative *\*\*Απελλον* to *"Απολλον*, an influence due to the *o* of the final syllable (K. Z., 1. c.) This vocative form in the primitive Greek period was associated with *άπόλλυμι*, and so, even if we assume a primitive nom. *\*Απελβων*, it is fair to suppose that under the influence of *"Απολλον* (which had been affected by *άπόλλυμι*) it reached the stage *'Απέλλων*. We may assume, however, that  $\lambda\mathcal{F}$  fell out because of the form *\*Απλονν*, as explained above. On the warrant of the Avestan forms taken in comparison with Sk.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of Sk. *४tr̥* and the Aryan *r̥<sub>2</sub>*, I refer to my articles in Am. Jour. Phil. XIII 463 sq., and Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1892, xxiv, and 1894, 2, ix.

*ātharvan*, we have a right to believe that the word was liable to gradation (cf. Prellwitz, B. B. IX 330).

On the legendary side there is everything to say in favor of identifying the fire-god Apollo with Atharvan, a manifestation of the Vedic Agni. The description of Atharvan cited from Grassmann might in fact be taken as a brief 'argument' for the Homeric hymn to Apollo.

One of the puzzling epithets of Apollo is 'Αφίτωρ (I 404), explained as the 'archer' (*ἀφίημι*) or, by the scholiast, as the 'prophet' (from the so-called *ἀ copulativum* + *φημι*). Why can we not explain it as the 'kindler' and connect with *ἀφή*<sup>1</sup> 'a kindling,' *ἀφάω* 'polish' (= 'make bright'), *ἀπτω* 'kindle' (?), all of which belong to Aryan *d>agh* 'burn' (for the abnormal rough breathing cf. the next number)?

VIII. *Αφαιστος*.—The legends of this divinity are also in close touch with the Vedic legends of Agni. Thus, according to one story, he was so lame and ugly that his mother flung him into the sea, where he was tended by the Oceanids, a legend which is quite plainly only a variant of the tale of Agni hiding in the waters. At the base of all the legends lies this fundamental notion that fire first came down from heaven in the form of lightning. There is possible etymological relation also between *Αφαιστος* and *Agni*. The root would be *d>agh*<sup>2</sup> 'burn,' which, before nasals (cf. Noreen, Urgerm. Lautlehre, §51, 2<sup>3</sup>), had a

<sup>1</sup> 'Αφή also means 'grasp' and *ἀπτω* 'fasten': the semasy is similar to that shown by *ἔλενη* above (p. 16): kindlings and fastenings were equally made of twigs. We have the same semasy in Lat. *fa-c-s* 'torch' and *fa-sc-s* 'switch' ('with'). I refer on the *-ce/-sce*-suffix to my 'Agglutination,' etc., Am. Jour. Phil. XV 435.

<sup>2</sup> The root-vowel is *a*; cf. Germ. *abend* 'gloaming' (the author, Mod. Lang. Notes, IX, col. 269), Grk. *ἀμαρ* 'day' (\**a₂-n-* with *n*-inflection), Lat. *amāne* 'dawn' (<*a₂-n-*, cf. the author, Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1894, 2. lii). In Lith. *dēgti* 'to burn' beside *ddgas* 'harvest' we seem to have the *e/o*-grade, but in Lith. the *e/o* and *ă/ă*-grades became *e/a* and *a/o*, and along the common term *a* there was doubtless passage from the less common to the more common series (cf. the author on such transitions, Am. Jour. Phil. XIII 478). In Lith. *ugnis* 'fire' (for \**agni*-) there has been confusion with *usnis* 'Brennessel' (cf. the author, Mod. Lang. Notes, XI 229). In Lat. *ignis* for \**emnis* (cf. the author, Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1894, 2. lii), there was either association with *lignum* 'fire-wood' (ib., I. c., liii) or, more probably, with *ictus* (infra, p. 25).

<sup>3</sup> But, as we shall presently see, *Agni* can be explained as belonging to *vaj* 'drive,' and thus be, along with *ahan* 'day,' the source of the inconstant *d* of *vād>agh* (cf. the author, Mod. Lang. Notes, IX, col. 267, and Hopkins, Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1892, p. clxxvi).

by-form *dhaṣ* with anticipative aspiration and a contaminated form *\*dhaṣh*.<sup>1</sup> "Αφαιστος is congeneric with ἄπτω. The abnormal rough breathing had its origin in the name of the god. Greek was endowed with stems ἀγ- (: Sk. *√yaj* 'sacrifice') 'sacred' and ἀγ- (Sk. *āgas* 'sin') 'accursed,' meeting in a common ground 'sacer.' The former stem was of frequent application to the names of divinities, and a pietistic feeling carried the rough breathing (an awed whisper perhaps) over to names of divinities with vowel-initial (cf. the author, Am. Jour. Phil. XVI 7). This was subsequent to the loss of the Greek feeling against aspirates in two successive syllables; thus ἦ-φαι-στος, but ἔ-χω. The name οφαιστος is compound: ἦφ + αιστος, the latter belonging with αἴθω 'burn,' L-*t. aedes* 'sacred hearth,' and, before popular etymology had set in (supra, p. 13), with "Αἴθης.

But the myth of "Αφαιστος can be shown to have very definite connection with a mythological personage of the Vedas, viz. *Ajā ēkapād*, and from the name of the latter we are able to gain a closer view of the name of Agni. The most marked characteristic of "Αφαιστος is his lameness, and *Ajā ēkapād* is the 'limping driver.' This personage is mentioned six times in the Rig-Veda, in every instance in a hymn to the *Viçve Devas* 'All Gods.' That he had to do with storms is every way clear, for he is always mentioned in a group of storm-gods. At ii 31. 6 *Trita* 'Thunder' (cf. supra, p. 12) and *Apām Napāt* 'Son of the Waters' (cf. supra, p. 1) are grouped with him, the latter also in vii 35. 13, while at x 65. 13 and x 66. 11 *tanyatū* 'thunder' and the Āpas 'Waters' are mentioned; *Samudraḥ* 'Ocean' (= Āpas) is associated in vi 50. 14 and vii 35. 13. At x 64. 4 *Kavis Tuvirāvan* 'Seer loud-raging' (= Çānsa, supra, p. 11) is mentioned. The identification of these two limping lightning-divinities seems to me unavoidable.

I turn to consider *Ajā* as a lightning-god. In the Rig-Veda Indra *drives at* (*√ā + aj*) *Vṛtra*, the cloud-demon (v 37. 4); *drives together* (*sam + √aj*) his enemies (vi 25. 9 and vii 32. 7). Moreover, at iii 45. 2 Indra is endowed with the epithets *Vṛtrakhādā valamrūjāḥ purāṇ darmā apām ajāḥ* 'Vṛtra-slayer, Vala-breaker, cloud-splitter, water-driver.' Now, if it be a fair assumption

<sup>1</sup> This is how I explain to myself the roots with double aspirates, and it justifies the phonetics of θυγ-άπτηρ in Greek, without recourse to Bartholomae's 'law' (K. Z. XXVII 206). For our present root Δάφνη 'Morning-glow' (cf. Max Müller, Oxford Essays, 1856, p. 57) seems to demand a base *dagh-*, not *dhaṣh-*.

tion that the storm-god *Ajá ékapād* is a form of lightning, then *Ajá* may be an etymological congener of *Agni*. The name of *Agni* has before now been associated with  $\sqrt{aj}$  'drive,' and Grassmann defines by "das Feuer, als das bewegliche aufgesfasst." Instead I would make *Agni* the lightning, a *driver of the waters*, like *Indra*, *Apám Ajáh*.

But as *Agni* became a common word for fire it was doubtless associated with \**dahan* || \**ahan* (Eng. *dawn* : Ger. *abend*, cf. the author, Mod. Lang. Notes, IX, col. 269), with inconstant *d*> (cf. supra, p. 23, footnote 3). Thus there grew up a root \**dh>agh*, illustrated in Greek by *ἀπτω* 'kindle' (supra, p. 23) and by *τάφος* 'funeral (cremation), astonishment (burning-of-the-heart).'<sup>1</sup>

The corresponding Greek group shows abnormal phonetics. I compare with Sk. *ajá-s* 'goat' *aīg* (gen. *aīy-ōs*), with *Ajá-s* 'storm-god' *aīy-īs* 'Zeus's flashing shield (i. e. lightning), hurricane' (cf. *ἐπαγγίζω*, Hom., used of a stormy wind), and with *agni-s* 'fire' *aīyāṇ* 'radiance.' All three Sanskrit words I refer to  $\sqrt{aj}$  'drive.' The objection will hold that *agni-s* has a 'velar' (cf. O.Blg. *ognis* 'fire'), but we have already seen (supra, p. 16) how 'velar' and 'palatal' interchange.

It is very curious that the Greek words I have cited all show the same phonetic abnormality. The source of this I would trace to *aīy-īs*, *aīyāṇ* where there is alliteration (fore-rhyme) with *aīθω* 'burn,' I suggest. Inasmuch as Armen. *aīc* 'goat' corresponds in its vocalization with *aīg*, we shall probably have to refer the rise of the abnormality in these words to the primitive period. Greek retains, however, traces of the normal forms, viz. in *ἀγ-λαΐς* 'shining' (beside *aīyāṇ*), where the stem is in the same stage as in *ag-nis* 'fire.'

Very curious, too, is the fact that the Vedic storm-god *Ajá Ékapād* means, by *double entendre*, 'goat one-footed,' while Πάν *Alyínoús* is a 'goat-footed' storm-god, and the epithets are phonetically absolutely identical save in the variation of the guttural between surd and sonant.

In Latin also it is perhaps possible to trace the connection of *ignis* with *agere*.<sup>2</sup> We should expect for *ignis* \**emnis*, according to my proposed law, Italic *mn*<Aryan *gn* (Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1894, 2, lii, and, for *e*, ib. 1894, 1, x). The abnormality of *ignis* is due to association with *ictus*, ptc. of *iacio* 'throw' in origin, but subsequently associated with *icere*, to which the ptc. *ictus* had

<sup>1</sup> Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1895, 2, liii. <sup>2</sup> Cf. also Mod. Lang. Notes, XI 229.

given rise, just as in English the ptc. *told*, in the phrase 'the knell was told,' has given rise to the verb *to toll*, with, in this case, a new ptc. *tolled*. We can make pretty sure of the idiom *iacere* (*icere*) *ignem* from Cic. ad Att. XV 26. 2 *interdum iacit igniculus viriles*. Beside this we can put Ennius's line (Vahl. V 93): *exin candida se radiis dedit icta foras lux*, 'then the clear dawn was-struck-alight (*icta*), and put herself forth with her rays.' Other passages are Cic. Har. Resp. 45 *ut vos iisdem ignibus circum-saepti me primum ictum pro vobis et fumantem videretis*, and Ov. Met. 15. 348 ea (sc. *materia*) *concepit ictibus ignem*.

The best proof, perhaps, of this locution is to be got from *iacere fulmen* and *ictus fulmine* (Cic. Div. II 45 and I 16). Here *fulmen* has ousted *ignis*, we may suppose; as in English 'strike a *light*' and 'strike a *match*' represent 'strike a *flint*.' In the specific sense of lightning I can find no very early instance of *ignis*, but Vergil's *ignes* (Aen. IV 167) may well be an archaism, seeing how surely *Agni* means 'lightning' in the *Veda*. Lucretius (VI 309-16) uses *ignis* and *ictus* three times each within a single sentence, in describing the lightning.

These examples may be held, I think, to demonstrate that a connection had been made by the Roman mind between *ignis* and *ictus*. We can also come at the semasic connection between *ignis* and *agere* by noting *Lucr. II 675 scintillas agere* 'shoot out sparks,' beside *ignem iacere* in the previous line.

IX. *Tryanikā*.—This word is a hapaxlegomenon at RV. iii 56. 3, and is, like *purvanika* (five times in the voc., exclusively of *Agni*), probably an epithet of *Agni*. So Grassmann takes it, but Ludwig, after *Sāyana*, ascribes it, incorrectly I believe,<sup>1</sup> to *Indra*. It is defined 'three-faced.' Lat. *acies* in its varied senses pretty exactly covers the range of meaning shown by *ānika*. I would translate by 'three-edged,'<sup>2</sup> and refer the epithet to the lightning in the hand of *Agni* or of *Indra*. Cognate with *āñ-ka* is Grk. *alvós* (<\**anyo-*), defined usually as 'dread,' but definable also by 'sharp,' and mainly used of words referring to battle: the super-

<sup>1</sup> The epithet belongs to *vṛṣabhdī* 'bull,' a common epithet of *Agni* (24 times in RV.); the three goddesses (*tisrō mātrā*) of the previous stanza are *Agni's* nursing-mothers (cf. Grassmann, Wört., s. v. *īdā* 4, 5); the reference in the following stanza to the waters' giving way reminds of *Agni's* hiding in the waters (cf. Lanman, Notes to Reader, p. 394), and *Agni* seems to be alluded to in the next stanza but one (*viddīheṇu samrāṭ* 'ruler at the sacrifices').

<sup>2</sup> The word *ānika* is specially used of the sharp point of an arrow or axe (cf. Grassmann, s. v. 8).

lative is restricted to Zeus, the lightning-wielder *par excellence*. But Poseidon was also a god of storm. In Homer he raises the winds (λ 400, 407), the waves (ω 110): he has his seat on a mountain-top (Ν 12), while in another place (γ 150) he puts a cloud about his shoulders.<sup>1</sup> He also assists Zeus to raise a storm (γ 56). With this conception I would bring Poseidon's trident—*τρίαινα*—in touch, comparing it with the epithet *tryaniká*.

As against this explanation I mention Brugmann's (I. F. III 261), who works out on the basis of *θρίναξ* 'three-pronged-hoe' a stem \**τρι-κι-ν-ακ-*, basing \**κι-ν-ακ* on Sk. *séna* 'dart.' Touching the phonetic development of *θρίναξ* he says: "In der letzteren Form musste bei der Kontraktion der beiden *h* die Liquida durch Antizipation des *h* tonlos und infolge davon *τ* zur Aspirata werden, vgl. *φροῦδος* aus \**προ ὁδος*." This reasoning is not, in my opinion, cogent. In any case there must have been a transfer of the aspiration before contraction could take place, and if we have a stage \**τρινάξ*, why not also \**τριάινα*? I am quite willing to admit, however, that an intervocalic *h* fell away in Greek at an earlier stage between identical vowels (cf. Lat. *nil*, *nihil*). But *θρίναξ* lets itself be connected directly with Sanskrit words of nearly equivalent meaning. I note the adjective *dhrṣṇi* 'bold,' for which the sense 'sharp' may be vindicated by citing the compound *dhrṣṇiṣena* 'with a sharp dart': this facet of meaning is also shown by *dhrṣṇāj* 'hero,' with the epithet *tigmā* 'sharp.' I note also *dharṇasi* (for \**dharznasi*?), used prevailingly as an epithet of *Soma* (cf. *ācū-* and *tigmā-* 'sharp,' both *Soma* epithets), but used also of the thunderbolt (*vájra-*) and of the vision (*cákṣaṇa-*). I would therefore explain *θρίναξ* from \**dhrzno* + *ak* 'sharp-point,' whence *θριν-ak-*. In *θρινακίη*, the *Odyssey* name for Sicily (?), I would see the sense 'land of sharp promontories.' In gradation with *θρίναξ* as thus explained would be *θριγ-κ-ός* 'projecting coping.' That the *θρίναξ* was not necessarily a three-pointed instrument, though popularly so interpreted, the following passage from *Aristophanes* seems to show (Pax 567 sq.):

αὶ τε θρίνακες διαστίλβοντι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον.

· · ·  
ῶστ' ἔγωγ' ἥδη πιθυμῶ καῦτὸς ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἄγρον  
καὶ τριανοῦν τὴν δικέλλη διὰ χρόνου τὸ γῆδιον.

<sup>1</sup> So, however, do other gods quite commonly, but we have seen how many of them seem to be individualizations of epithets of fire.

Here the δίκελλα ('bidens') is equivalent to θρίναξ, and both have been alike associated, as the verb shows, with τρίαινα.

With this group we may compare Lat. *fuscinus* 'trident' < \*dhṛs-ci-na, or perhaps from \*dhṛsn-ica 'having sharp points,' with 'skipping' from \*fusnica to *fuscinus*.

The root to which I refer (τρί-)ava is *am*, Grk. ἄμαδω 'reap,' Sk. √am 'injure,' *amá* 'Andrang—der Geschosse,' etc. This root had a by-form *an*, originating from \*m-s-i (> \*nsi), Lat. *en-s-is*, Sk. *a-s-i* 'sword'; cf. ἄορ (< \*a-σ-ορ) with a different suffix. For the kinship of the τρίαινα and ἄορ I cite § 385, where Poseidon is pictured as follows:

δεινὸν ἄορ τανύκες ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ παχεῖη  
εἴκελον ἀστεροπῆ,

comparing with it § 506:

αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα τρίαιναν ἐλῶν χερσὶ στιβαρῆσιν.

In the former of these passages Poseidon's character of *Apám Nápát* comes out very clearly: 'for he had a dread sword in his hand like the lightning.'

I am aware that I have equipped the lightning-divinity with many names and personalities in the foregoing essay. But so have the Vedic hymn-writers. Indra is *puru-ṇāman* 'many-named' (RV. viii 93. 17) and *puru-varpas* 'many-figured' (ib. x 120. 6), while Agni (*Apám Nápát*) and Indra are *puru-rūpa* 'many-formed' (Agni *thrice* and Indra *once*), and Agni is besides *puruṇika* (*five times*). But for the many-named Agni I can do no better than cite RV. iii 20. 3<sup>ab</sup>:

Ágne bhrīṇi tava jātavedo  
dēva svadhāvo 'mṛtasya nāma;

'Agni, thou art manifold, thou Jātavedas  
Thou divine *Svadhāvan*<sup>1</sup> in thy immortal names.'

It is obvious also that my explanations, notably of Apollo, substitute lightning-myths for sun-myths. Indra, Zeus and

<sup>1</sup> It occurs to me that possibly *Svadhāvan*, which is pre-eminently used of Agni, belongs to √dhā 'kindle' (cf. Lat. *fūmus* 'smoke'), and was originally understood, like the traditional explanation of *tánū-nḍpát* (supra, p. 10), as 'self-kindling.' So <sup>o</sup>dhāvan would be ultimately (cf. Noreen, l. c., §51, Anm. 1, and the author, Am. Jour. Phil. XVI 2, footnote 3) kindred with Δηώ (supra, p. 19).

Jupiter, the highest deities in their respective cosmogonies, were clearly personifications of the lightning. In Greek and Latin certainly the myths of the sun pure and simple (*Ἥλιος* and *Ἥλιος*) are quite insignificant in comparison, though this is not the state of the case in the Vedas.

For my own part, I think a lightning-cult has *a-priori* a simpler origin than a sun-cult. Lightning impresses by its suddenness; lightning is a visible and sensible messenger from the Invisible Above to the visible below, being now and then a vast agent for destruction sent upon man out of the Unknown. On the other hand, the sun moves on, calm and irresistible, with only an occasional eclipse to strike man with the awe that springs from the unexpected. Storms interfere, to be sure, with the sun's course, but all that is terrible in storm is lightning-flash and thunder-roll. On these grounds I have no hesitation in substituting lightning-myths for sun-myths.

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## II.—ON THE ALLEGED CONFUSION OF NYMPH-NAMES, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO PROPERTIUS, I 21 AND II 32. 40.

In Roscher's Lexicon of Greek and Roman Mythology, s. v. *Hamadryades*, occurs a paragraph which may be translated as follows:

The name 'Hamadryads' was not quite fixed, and did not denote the tree-nymphs exclusively. It is also found frequently generalized for Dryads—nymphs who live in the woods. So in Nonnos, who uses the word Dryas rarely; Verg. Ecl. 10. 62; Plat. Epigr. Anth. Pal. 9. 823; Myro, Anth. Pal. 6. 189, where they are called *ποταμοῦ κύραι*; Marian. Scholast., Anth. Pal. 9. 668; Catull. 60. 23. In fact the name often seems to denote the entirety of the nymphs of a locality as they meet in the woods for dancing, play and the chase; compare Ov. Fast. 2. 155; Met. 14. 624, 1. 690; Propert. 2. 32, 37. 34. 76. And so they were easily confounded with the Naiads, the tree-nurturing water-nymphs. In Propert. I. 20, 32 the Naiads who draw Hylas into their spring are called *Hamadryades*, and the same, v. 45, *Dryades*. In Ov. Fast. 4. 231 the Nymph Sagaritis, who belongs to a tree, is called a Nais. According to Nicander, ap. Ant. Lib. 30, Byblis received divinity from the nymphs, and under the name of 'Αμαδρύας Νύμφη was taken into their company; in Ov. Met. 9. 664 she is changed into a spring. Comp. Nikander, ap. Ant. Lib. 32.

So says another German writer, A. Otto, commenting on the Hylas elegy of Propertius, I 20, in 'Neue Beiträge zur Erklärung des Properz,' Hermes, XXIII, p. 27 (1888):

So the name *Hamadryades* appears as a representation of collections of nymphs in general (Prop. II 32. 37; Catull. 61. 21 sqq.; Verg. Ecl. X 62; Ov. Fast. II 156; Metam. XIV 623). The distinction is entirely abolished ('ganz aufgehoben') in Ov. Metam. I 690 inter *Hamadryades* celeberrima Nonacrinas | *Naias* una fuit; Stat. Silu. I 3. 62 sed nunc forsan uel lubrica *Nais* | uel non abruptos tibi debet *Hamadryas* annos; Ov. Fast. IV 231 *Naida* uolneribus succidit in *arbores* factis. Finally in Propertius himself, II 32. 37 Hoc et *Hamadryadum* spectauit turba sororum, compared with v. 40 Supposita excipiens *Naica* dona manu, though here the reading is doubtful.

The indispensable Onomasticon to De Vit's Forcellini, s. v. *Naiades*, adds another confusion:

certum est a quibusdam cum Hamadryadibus et Nereidibus confundi. [Ov. F. 4. 231 and Met. 1. 690, 14. 556 are cited] . . . pro quauis nymphā ponuntur, [and Sil. It. 15. 773, Stat. Ach. 1. 295 are cited].

With such a *sartago loquendi* before me, I hardly know where to begin. My perplexity is increased when I reflect that forty-five years ago—thirty-eight years before A. Otto published his 'new contribution' to the explanation of Propertius—his theory was refuted by anticipation in one of the works<sup>1</sup> which have earned for R. Unger, the veteran professor of Halle, the title of 'impense doctus,' and that on a foreigner falls the ungrateful task of instructing two German scholars in the researches of their countryman.

The scholars from whom I have quoted appear hardly to have realized the extent of the demands they make upon our belief. The accredited ancient authors whom they cite confused, we are to suppose, wood-nymphs and water-nymphs with tree-nymphs;<sup>2</sup> confounded water-nymphs and sea-nymphs, and wrote tree-nymphs and water-nymphs where they meant nymphs in general. It is true that confusion of semi-divine personalities is a frequent and often a legitimate hypothesis in mythological inquiry. But what would be thought of, say, an attempt to show that the classical English writers confused sprites and mermaids with fairies, and used fairies and mermaids as general terms to include sprites and angels? Such or similar is this theory. Let us see how it is supported.

Let us first cite a few of the passages which vouch for the existence, down to the latest times with which we have any concern, of the distinctions which it is sought to obliterate. Plato, Anth. Pal. IX 823 fin. 'Υδριάδες Νύμφαι Νύμφαι 'Αμαδρυάδες; Ov. Met. 6. 452 Naiades et Dryades; Schol. ad Hom. Il. 20. 8 αἱ τὰ ἄλση κατοικοῦσαι Νύμφαι 'Αλσηίδες καλοῦνται αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν δένδρων 'Αμαδρυάδες αἱ δὲ τὰ νάματα τῶν ὑδάτων Naiades καὶ 'Υδριάδες καὶ τούτων αἱ μὲν κρηνίδες αἱ δὲ ἐπιποταμίδες; Nonnos, Dionys. 24. 127-8 ἀμα Δρυάδεσσι τε Νύμφαι | 'Αδρυάδες (= 'Αμαδρυάδες).<sup>3</sup> It may, however, be doubted whether such passages will have any effect in establishing the distinctions when a place like Stat. Silu. I 3. 62 is used to overthrow them. The

<sup>1</sup> *Analecta Propertiana* (Halis, 1850), a pamphlet to which, as frequent references will show, this article is greatly indebted.

<sup>2</sup> And why not also 'plain-nymphs,' on the authority of the passage of Isidore, VIII 11. 97 *Nymphas quippe montium Oreades dicunt, siluarum Dryades, camporum Hamadryades, fontium Naiades, maris Nereides?* This is the vulgate reading. No correction I have seen seems satisfactory.

<sup>3</sup> The Teubner editor has 'Αμαδρυάδεσσι τε, which also will construe. It may, however, be doubted whether the true reading is not ἀμ' 'Υδριάδεσσι τε. Compare the passages quoted for 'Υδριάς below.

tree there mentioned is under the protection of 'either a Naiad or a Dryad'; and so these are the same, and our poet is turned mythological identifier or synonym-hunter! Χρῆσον σὺ μάκτραν, εἰ δὲ βούλει, κάρδοπον! When again Ovid, Met. I 690, writes that 'among the Nonacrian Hamadryads a Naiad was the most famous,' it might have been supposed that his intention was not to obliterate distinctions, but to bring them out. Nor is it more reasonable to accuse the same poet of confounding Nereids and Naiads because he has written 'Naides *aequoreae*' 'sea water nymphs.' It would be just as fair to charge the translators of the Bible with ignorance that the sea is salt because they speak of 'the fountains of the deep.' There is no confusion here: only one of those transferences without which poetry would wellnigh be impossible. And to conclude with a Greek example, it will hardly be credited that the following are the words of Marianus Scholasticus, from which evidence of confusion has been extorted, 5 sqq. καὶ γλυκερῆς τρίστοιχος ἐπεμβαδὸν ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλῳ | μαστὸς ἀναθλίβει χεύματα Ναϊάδος· | ὅππόθι δενδρήεντα γέρων παρανήχεται Ἰρις | χῶρον, 'Αμαδρνάδων ἔνδιον ἀβροκόμων. Misapprehension of another custom of the poets supplies a considerable proportion of the remaining examples. When a poet describes Dian hunting with her nymphs, he feels no obligation either to enumerate every kind among her attendants or to use the generic term: he may mention *one* kind only and leave the rest to the imagination. Thus Ovid, Fasti, 2, 155, singles out the Hamadryads from the throng; Statius, Ach. I. 294 sq., and Silius Italicus, 15. 769 sqq., the Naiads.<sup>1</sup>

In other places the special and proper meaning will do just as well as a more general one. What inference can be drawn from the words which Virgil puts into the mouth of Gallus, Ecl. X 62 sq. 'iam neque *Hamadryades* rursus nec carmina nobis | ipsa placent; ipsae rursus concedite siluae'? Why should Gallus not have sung of tree-nymphs just as well as wood-nymphs? The

<sup>1</sup> In every passage of these two authors in which the meaning of Nais can be ascertained, it is used correctly. Stat. Silu. I 2. 207, 264; 5. 6; II 3. 30, 60; 6. 102; Sil. It. V 21, VI 289. If we have doubts who were the *Naides Hennaeae* accompanying Proserpine in Stat. Ach. I 825 sq., we may take a hint from Ovid, Fasti, IV 423 sqq. *frigida caelestum matres Arethusa uocarat; uenerat ad sacras et dea flaua dapes. | filia, consuetis ut erat comitata puellis, | errabat nudo per sua prata pede. | ualle sub umbrosa locus est, aspergine multa | uidus ex alto desilientis aquae.* The hostess and the surroundings sufficiently indicate the company.

same passage, together with Ecl. III 9 *sed faciles nymphae risere*, furnishes the basis of an allusion by Propertius to the Eclogues, II 32. 75 sq. *quamuis ille sua lassus requiescat auena, | laudatur facilis inter Hamadryadas*. If this be taken as proof that Propertius confused Nymphs and Hamadryads, then, in the name of consistency, let us take lines 69, 70, where allusion is made to Virg. Ecl. III 70, as proof that he also confounded boys and girls.

In the case of the Hamadryades it is not difficult to see how the notion might arise that they were not always distinguished from the Dryades. Their relation to the trees that they protect is differently represented by different authors. Sometimes it is as close as that of body and soul: kill the tree and the tree-nymph dies. Sometimes they are simply the trees' protectors. So apparently in Catull. 61 (60). 21 sqq. *floridis uelut enitens | myrtus Asia ramulis | quos Hamadryades deae | ludicum sibi roscido | nutritum umore*. Ovid, Met. 14. 623 sqq. *rege sub hoc Pomona fuit qua nulla Latinas | inter Hamadryadas coluit sollertia hortos | nec fuit arborei studiosior altera fetus: | unde tenet nomen: non siluas illa nec amnes, | rus amat et ramos felicia poma ferentes*.

If Νύμφαι Ἀμαδρνάδες, the traditional reading in Moero's (not Myro's) epigram in Anth. Pal. VI 189 were correct, we should have a certain misuse of 'Αμαδρνάδες for water-nymphs; but more than half a century ago Unger proved it to be corrupt, and his correction Ἀνιγριάδες has been accepted by Duebner in his edition where extracts from his arguments are quoted.<sup>1</sup>

Before passing on to the passages which demand further discussion, let us state the present outcome of our inquiries. In all places where the meaning can be exactly ascertained, *Hamadry-*

<sup>1</sup> The passages cited from Antoninus Liberalis are worthless as evidence; but that nothing may seem to have been omitted, I quote them in this note.  
 30 ή μὲν εἰς τὸ πλησίον δρος παρελθοῦσα ρίπτειν ἔαντρην ἐπεχειρησε; Νύμφαι δὲ κατέσχον οἰκτείρασαι καὶ πολὺν ὑπνον ἐνέβαλον καὶ αὐτὴν ἥλλαξαν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων εἰς δαιμονα καὶ ὄνταςαν Ἀμαδρνάδα νύμφην καὶ ἐποίησαντο συνδίαιτον ἐταιρίδα (obviously an attempt to explain the name Ἀμαδρνάδα). καλεῖται δὲ καὶ τὸ δέον ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ἐκείνης ἀχρι τὸν παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις δάκρυν Βιβλίδος. 32 ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὴν (i. e. Δρυόπην) ἡγάπτησαν ὑπερφύως Ἀμαδρνάδες νύμφαι, καὶ ἐποίησαντο συμπαίκτριαν ἔαντρῶν ὑμεῖν θεοὺς καὶ χορεύειν—καὶ εἰς τοῦτο παροῦσαν τὸ ιερὸν Δρυόπην ἥρπασαν Ἀμαδρνάδες κατ' εἰμένειαν καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν ἀπέκρυψαν ἐξ τὴν ὑλῆν, ἀντὶ δ' ἐκείνης αἰγειρον ἀνέφηναν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ παρὰ τὴν αἰγειρον ὑδωρ ἀνέρρηξαν. Δρυόπη δὲ μετέβαλε καὶ ἀντὶ θυητῆς ἐγένετο νύμφη.

*ades* carries a reference to single trees, *Dryades* to woods in general, and *Naides* to streams of water. As these three sorts of nymphs were frequently in each other's company, the mention of one sort may suggest another; but of actual confusion, except in corrupt passages, we have hitherto found no trace.

The stronghold of the advocates of confusion is the *Hylas* elegy of Propertius (I 20). If there is one statement on which all classical myth is agreed, it is that Hercules was robbed of *Hylas* by one or more water-nymphs or *Naiads*. If then Propertius, himself in accord with this tradition, calls the robbers *Dryades* or *Adryades* in v. 12, *Hamadryades* in v. 32 and *Dryades* in v. 45, there is no more to be said. Let us consider the matter a little. Propertius is warning *Gallus* not to trust his *Hylas* too near the water. 7 sqq. *huic tu, siue leges Vmbrae* *sacra flumina siluae* | *siue Aniena tuos tinxerit unda* *pedes* | *siue Gigantea spatiabere litoris ora* | *siue ubicumque uago fluminis* *hospitio* | *Nympharum* *cupidas semper defende rapinas*. What nymphs, we ask, is he warned against by this fourfold mention of streams? and the common reading returns us the answer *tree-nymphs*, or *wood-nymphs in general*, 'non minor Ausoniis est amor *Adryasin*' (or 'a, *Dryasin*'). In v. 24 *Hylas* is sent to draw water 'sacram sepositi quaerere *fontis aquam*.' Where did he go? 'Oh,' says the vulgate of v. 32, 'he went to the *tree-nymphs*,' 'a dolor ibat *Hylas*, ibat *Hamadryasin*.' And where were they? In *Pege* or *Pegae* (*Πηγαί*), 'grata domus nymphis *umida* Thyniasin,' 34, in the centre of a *well-watered* meadow ('*irriguo prato*,' 35). Well, the truant finally reaches the water's edge: 'formosis incumbens nescius *undis*' (41)—'tandem haurire parat demissis *flumina* palmis (43) innixus dextro plena trahens *umero*,' when he is seen by—water-nymphs at last, cries the reader. 'Not a bit of it,' says the vulgate; 'by *wood-nymphs in general*,' '*Dryades* *puellae*,' who 'prolapsum leuiter facili traxere *liquore*.' *Hylas*, now safe in the spring, utters a cry which (50) 'ab extremis *fontibus* aura refert.' And the poet, after such excellent fooling, concludes in a fine vein of irony: '*his, o Galle, tuos monitus seruabis amores*.' Now, those who defend this must show one of two things: either that Propertius was ignorant of the proper use of these names or that, knowing it, he neglected it. Will they then maintain that what was known to Plato, to Apollonius, to Ovid, to Silius, to Statius, to Nonnos, to Ausonius, to Paulus *Silentarius*, was unknown to

Propertius? Or will they make Propertius, in effect, aver that 'though I am well aware that *Hamadryas* and *Dryas* are the wrong words to express my meaning, I will not trouble to use the right ones. But never mind; I will so contradict them by everything else I say that it will be just the same as if I had not used them at all'? Too great a concession, one would think, to the corrupt manuscripts of Propertius. The purging of the text began with Lachmann (1816), who introduced the *Hydriads* into v. 12, quoting the epigr. of Plato, v. supra, and Paulus Silentarius (Anth. VI 57. 7): 'Υδριάδες Νύμφαι δὲ σὺν ὑλονόμοισι (i. e. Δρυάσιν) χορείαν | στήσαν ἐπεὶ καντάς πολλάκις ἔξεφόβει. To which may be added Schol. Il. XX 8 (supra); Porphyr. antr. nymph. 13, 17, 18, 19, 24; Nonnos, IX 81 'Υδριάς 'Ινώ, XVI 357 'Υδριάδων, XXIII 271, XLIII 95 (all without *Νύμφαι*, though in XVI 358 we have *Νύμφαι Ἀμαδρνάδες* following in the next line).<sup>1</sup> Lachmann, however, strangely enough, left *Dryades* in v. 45 and *Hamadryades* in 32. For the former Unger (op. cit.) restored *Hydriades*, while for the latter, after mentioning the names 'Εφυδρίδες,<sup>2</sup> 'Εφυδριάδες, Μεθυδριάδες, *Νύμφαι ἐφυδάται*, *Νύμφαι πηγαῖαι καὶ ἐνύδρια πνεύματα*,<sup>3</sup> he finally proposed *at Hydriasin*, a conjecture rightly rejected by Baehrens on account of the position of *at*. In 32 we have to decide between the two alternatives of Baehrens, *Ephydriasin* (note) and *Enhydriasin*, better *Enhydriasin*, (text). The first is well supported, occurring in Anth. Pal. IX 327 *Νύμφαι Ἐφυδριάδες* (Hermocreon); ib. 329 (Leonidas Tarentinus); Alexander Aetolus, ap. Parthen. 14. 22 *αὐτὸς δ' εἰς Νύμφας φχερ' Ἐφυδριάδας*, of which the present passage may be a reminiscence.<sup>4</sup> Compare also the 'Εφυδρίδες of Artemidorus. But *Enhydriasin*, though occurring nowhere else, is distinctly nearer to the tradition *amadrias hinc AFN (hamadrias (-ryas V) hinc DV)*. And to the word itself no objection need be taken when we compare Soph.

<sup>1</sup> Pape, lexicon of proper names, also quotes Nonnos, XLIII 222 (leg. 223), a passage which will be found on p. 273 of vol. II of the Teubner text.

<sup>2</sup> From Artemidorus 2. 38 Ποταμοὶ καὶ Δίμναι καὶ Νύμφαι [καὶ] Ἐφυδρίδες (for the *καὶ* should be bracketed).

<sup>3</sup> From a late oracle in Jo. Lydus; compare the use of *πνεύματα*.

<sup>4</sup> C. M. Francken, in the paper referred to below, says with truth that there is little agreement between the versions of the myths in Propertius and the collection of Parthenius which is dedicated to Cornelius Gallus. But it would be absurd to contend that Propertius could only know the poem of Aetolus from this collection.

Philoct. 1454 *νύμφαι τ' ἔνυδροι λειμωνιάδες*<sup>1</sup> (also the name in the inscription in Boeckh, Corpus I. Gr. III 5968 'Ενυδρίη[ι] Π. Παπίριος Δουκί[ου] Παπίρ[ίου] ἀπελεύ[τ]ερος Ἔρως (i. e. "Ερως) ἀνέθηκεν), and remember that for *Μεθυδριάδες*, a precisely similar compound to it and *ἔφυδριάδες*, we have only one example, Alcaeus Messenius, Anth. Pal. App. Plan. 226. 6.<sup>2</sup>

We must return for a moment to 12. The MSS end the line with *adriacis*, and to this Lachmann's (*h*)*ydriasin* does not seem sufficiently near; compare the different corruption in 32. If, on the other hand, (*h*)*ydriadas* was the original, every letter (except of course the *h*) has been preserved in *adriacis*; for *i* and *y* are equivalent, and *c*, *d* is a not uncommon interchange. Thus in Prop. III 14. 5 F reads *uelodis* for *ueloci*; 13 *amazonicum* for *-dum*, the same MS; and *dum* and *cum* are confused at II 14. 11, 26. 47. *Est*, then, would appear to be 3d pers. of *edo*; cf. in this sense Virg. Aen. IV 66 *est* *mollis flamma medullas*, and especially Catull. 91. 6 *quoius me magnus edebat amor*. And we must combine the emendation of Perreius, *Ausonias—Adryadas*, with that of Lachmann, thus reading *Ausonias—Hydriadas*.

Before passing on we may meet some possible objections to the readings that have been recommended. It is true that the vulgate correction in 32, *Hamadryasin*, is somewhat nearer to the tradition than *Enhydriasin*; but the confusion of *a* and *e*, *m* and *n* is perpetual, and the one word is extremely rare, while the other is fairly common<sup>3</sup>: while in the other place (12) every one of the proposals—*a*, *Dryasin*, *Adryasin*, *in Dryasin*, *et Dryasin*, between which we must choose, appears to involve at least as much change as the reading we have preferred. In 45 *Hydriades* for *driades* or *dryades* is of course a change, but not a difficult one. Some will no doubt here prefer the rhythm to which they

<sup>1</sup> This passage, which well illustrates Propertius' *irriguo—prato*, is sufficient to defend *Νύμφῶν | λειμακίδων* (Ruhnken, of our nymphs), Orph. Arg. 649, against Unger's *Διμνάδων*. *λιμ-νη* and *λειμ-αξ λειμ-ών*, as philologists know, contain different forms of the same root. *λειμωνιάδες*, another form, occurs again in Orph. Hymn. 50 (51). 4, a catalogue of almost all the appellations of every kind of nymph, including *Αμαδρυάδες*, v. 13.

<sup>2</sup> I am glad to note that Leo does not follow Buecheler in defending the text of Culex, 94 sq. *ο pecudes, ο Panes et ο gratissima tempe | fontis Hamadry-adum*, though his *hortus* is palaeographically less probable than the generally accepted *frondis* of Heinsius.

<sup>3</sup> It would seem that *enhydriasin* was first corrupted to *hamadryasin* and then this further corrupted.

are accustomed; but the elision is Propertian; cf. e. g. II 17. 11  
 quem modo felic(em) inuidia adidente ferebant; ib. 18. 19 at tu  
 etiam iuuem(em) odisti me perfida cum sis; and to my ear it is  
 more suggestive of the Nymphs' excitement than the smoother  
 rhythm.<sup>1</sup>

The remaining passages may be conveniently considered in  
 connexion with another corrupt passage of Propertius, II 32.  
 33 sqq.:

ipsa Venus quamuis corrupta libidine Martis nec minus in caelo semper honesta fuit quamuis Ida <i>Parim</i> pastorem dicat amasse atque inter pecudes accubuisse deam. hoc et <i>Hamadryadum</i> spectauit turba sororum Silenique senes et pater ipse chori, cum quibus Idaeo legisti poma sub antro subposita excipiens <i>Naica</i> dona manu.	35 40
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The difficulty of line 33 is attested by the readings *fertur* N  
 for *quamuis* and *uixit* L (the Holkham MS, see Transactions of  
 the Cambridge Philological Society, vol. V, part I) for *Martis*.

<sup>1</sup> After the above was written, as if to add another proof of the necessity of this investigation, appeared the paper of a Dutch scholar, C. M. Francken, *Mnemosyne*, XXIII, pp. 296 sqq. It shows the same ignorance of Unger's researches and the same lack of discrimination in dealing with the evidence. I will refer to some of his observations which have not been covered by the previous discussion. In 32 he reads 'a dolor! ibat Hylas ibat *amor Dryasin*' for *(h)amadrias hinc*. His reasons against the dat. are 'constructio est insolita (quamuis non sine exemplo) et pro re quam continent uerba nimium πάθος.' The first one, that the construction is rare, though correct, is in Propertius an argument in its favour. The second one I do not comprehend. When Hylas went to the water-nymphs, as all Propertius' readers know, he went to his fate. The *amor* of the nymphs has already been referred to in 12. The poet's effects are spoilt by such repetitions. To pass over such inaccurate and frivolous statements as 'certe Naiadum uocabulo nusquam usus est' (Propertius) and 'huius (Τύπιας) uocabuli quod Graecis ἕδπιαν (sitolam) saepe usurpantibus non nimis gratum esse potuit ad deas significandas' (!), he next urges against Lachmann's *Hydriasin* (which he has already commended by 'acute') that it is 'rarum certe et ut dixi non sine nympharum uocabulo.' This is an argument of some weight perhaps for Greek, but of none for Latin, as may be seen from the citations already made, in few of which *nymphae* is inserted. In 12 he accepts Ayrmann's conjecture '“non minor Ausoniis (sc. nymphis u. 11, fluitorum deis) est amor ac *Dryasin*” mutatione paene nulla' because 'Ausoniis debet habere oppositum nomen Graecum idque non rarum et uix auditum sed Graecis familiare.' Then the poor word *Dryasin* is to mean here 'Greek water-deities,' and that, we are to believe, is 'non rarum et uix auditum sed Graecis familiare'!

But these attempts at emendation—and they are the only variants, except perhaps *non*, the first hand of F, for *hoc*, that are worth recording here—are of course no use to us. In 40, whatever reading we may adopt, it is clear that there is a reference to a Naiad. There are three other places (already cited) in which a Naiad appears in the company of Hamadryades. Let us see if we can learn anything by comparing them. First let us take Ov. Met. I 69 sq.: the Naiad there referred to is Syrinx, the daughter of the *river god* Ladon, and herself changed into a *reed*. A second passage is Stat. Silu. I 3. 59 sqq. *quid te, quae mediis seruata penatibus arbor | tecta per et postes liquidas emergis in auras | quo non sub domino saeuas passura bipennes? | set nunc ignauos forsan uel lubrica Nais | uel non abruptos tibi demet (debet Heins.) Hamadryas annos?* Why does Statius doubt whether the tree is in the charge of a Naiad or a Hamadryad? Because it grows in the villa of Flauius Vopiscus at Tibur, which is built *on the water*; e. g. vv. 2, 3 *inserto geminos Aniene penates—sociae commercia noscere ripae.* Compare the elegant myth of Pan and a Naiad which he invents for the 'Arbor Atedii Melioris,' Silu. II 3.

Once more the context of the passage, which is the very *arx* of the supposed confusion, where we are told of the revenge which Cybele took upon the Naiad with whom her favorite Attis was unfaithful (Ov. Fast. IV 231 *Naida uulnēribus succidit in arbore factis; | illa perit; fatum Naidos arbor erat*), tells us who the offender was; 229 sq. *fallit et in Nympha Sagaritide desinit esse | quod fuit; hinc poenas exigit ira deae;* that is, a nymph of the *river* Sagaris or Sangarius. What, then, is the explanation of the phenomenon that, when we probe the identification of the Naiad and the Hamadryad, we always come upon water? Let us seek enlightenment from Homer's famous description of the Naiads' home: Od. 13. 102 sqq. *αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ κρατὸς λιμένος τανύφυλλος ἐλαίη | ἀγχόθι δ' αὐτῆς ἄντρον ἐπήρατον ἡροειδές, | οἰρὸν νυμφάων αἱ νηιάδες καλέονται· | ἐν δὲ κρητῆρές τε καὶ ἀμφιφορῆς ἔστιν | λάινοι, ἐνθα δ' ἔπειτα τιθαιβώσσοντι μελισσαι· | ἐν δ' ιστοὶ λίθεοι περιμήκεες, ἐνθα τε νύμφαι | φάρε' ὑφαίνονται ἀλιπόρφυρα θαῦμα ιδέσθαι· | ἐν δ' ὑδατ' αἰενάοντα.*<sup>1</sup> Descriptions of similar scenes abound in the classics. It will be enough to cite one from Propertius; that of the grotto of

<sup>1</sup> These wondrous fabrics of the Nymphs' bower, what are they but the rainbow of the falling streams? 'A land of streams. Some like a downward smoke, Slow-dropping veils of thinnest lawn, did go.'—Tennyson, Lotos Eaters.

the Nymphs who refuse admission to the thirsty Hercules, IV 9. 23 sq. sed procul inclusas audit ridere puellas, | *lucus* ubi umbroso fecerat orbe nemus | femineae loca clausa deae *fontesque* piandos | —uos precor o *luci* sacro quae luditis *antro* | pandite defessis hospita fana uiris. | fontis egens erro circaque *sonantia lymphis*. Trees in such positions might well be regarded as in the charge either of water-nymphs or of tree-nymphs, and their protectors could take rank with either. Within this region doubt is possible; outside of it none, I am convinced, will be found.

Such a region is indicated by 'Idaeo legisti *poma* sub *antro*,' a dell of many-fountained Ida; and the appearance of a Naiad among the Hamadryads requires no further explanation. But the couplet in which these words occur is still corrupt; as is shown, first, by the absence of anything for *legisti* to refer to (this Baehrens tried to provide by the weak alteration *legit sibi*); secondly, by the expression *Naica dona*. This is taken to mean 'the gifts of the Naiads,' viz. *poma*. But neither in Greek nor in Latin, as all those who are acquainted with the formations of those languages are well aware, is such a derivative possible. Philodemus, Anth. Pal. X 21 fin., has *σῶζε με*, Κύπρι, | *Ναϊακούς ηδη*, *δεσπότι*, *πρὸς λιμένας*, which is ingeniously and, as it would seem, correctly explained as a mock geographical adjective ('nominis geographi formam ludit') from *Nai*s, the name of his *inamorata*; Anth. Pal. V 107. But in serious writing *Naikos* or *Naicus* is no more possible than *Dryacus* or *Hamadryacus*.<sup>1</sup> It was this consideration, in part, that led R. Unger to conjecture *Naïakos* in the epigram, *Nanica* here and *Nanida*—*Nanidos* in Ov. Fast., l. c. A *Nana* or *Nanis*, he would have, was the *inamorata* of Attis; but as his only evidence is that *Nana* was the name of his *mother*, no one has accepted or is likely to accept the conjecture. It was, however, a step in the right direction to set the two passages side by side; for they both refer to the same unfortunate nymph. Nor will it now be difficult to emend the line of Propertius. For *Naica dona* read *Nai caduca*.<sup>2</sup> The poet makes learned and not inelegant allusion to the fable which is preserved by Ovid. In

<sup>1</sup> In Orelli, Inscr. 2791, *Naicus*, the perhaps doubtful name of a slave, would be a derivative of *vabc*.

<sup>2</sup> The emendation is Scaliger's. But the great critic only blundered into it. The Naiad he explains as Oenone, misled by the corruption *Parim*, and *caduca* he takes as neuter, and meaning 'caduia,' which Heinsius actually conjectured. But who would care to gather such fruit? To say nothing of the abruptness of *Nai* without some epithet.

*caduca* we recognize the Naiad-Hamadryad who was doomed to fall to the vengeful axe of Cybele. An adjective which is applied sometimes to a tree (*te, triste lignum te caducum* | in domini caput inmerentis, Hor. Carm. II 13. 11 sq.), sometimes to a person (Virg. Aen. X 622 sq. *si mora praesentis leti tempusque caduco* | *oratur iuueni*), could nowhere be more appropriate than here, where both are meant. The corruption was engendered by wrong division of the words, confusion of *u* and *o*, and an attempt to make something out of *doca*.

But it will be said there is nothing about Cybele and Attis in the context. True; but once there was. *Parim*, I have said, is corrupt. Almost every one admits this, and it must be so. If not, the lines would refer to an amour between Venus and Paris; and of this the rest of mythology knows nothing. The corruption *Parim* was here a very natural one. Paris has just been referred to in the preceding lines: 'Tyndaris externo,' etc., and *pastorem* would be most easily so understood; cf. Hor. Carm. I 15 *Pastor cum traheret per freta nauibus* | *Idaeis Helenen perfidus hospitam*. The remedies proposed, however, hitherto are ineffectual; *bonum* Valckenaer, *Phrygem* Schrader, *palam* Haupt, *suum* Baehrens, *nouum* Burmann, all fail—some in palaeographical probability, others by futility of sense.<sup>1</sup> The object of all is to introduce an allusion to *Anchises* as in [Ovid] Her. 16. 201 sq. *Phryx erat Anchises uolucrum cui mater Amorum* | *gaudet in Idaeis concubuisse iugis*.<sup>2</sup> But the language appears to oppose a fatal objection to thus providing Venus with a partner. Since the time of Haupt it has been the custom to construe the four verses as an example of hyperbaton or *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ*, or rather of the two figures combined. To this, with the present reading, there are two serious objections, both arising from the same cause. First, here is a sentence with a single subject starting apparently as positive and then in its second half suddenly turning negative, *nec minus*, etc.: *amphora* coepit | institui; *currente rota cur urceus extat*?<sup>3</sup> Secondly, the sentence, as it stands, is devoid of all proper balance, as will be seen, however much we simplify: 'Venus, quamuis Martem amans, et semper honesta fuit quamuis pastorem ama-

<sup>1</sup> And therefore all omitted in the footnotes to my text of Propertius.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Housman (Class. Rev., l. c. below) refers also to Il. 2. 820 sq.; Theocr. I. 105, 20. 34 sq., which last place I have quoted in full.

<sup>3</sup> This objection is sought to be removed by the suggestion that *nec minus* = *et*, as in I 3. 5; but *nec minus*, which is rather 'and also,' is not equivalent to *et* for the purposes of an *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* construction.

uerit.' I am sure that many readers must have felt this. What, then, is to be done? *Another nominative* must be provided for the *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* construction. Thus,

ipsa Venus quamuis corrupta libidine Martis  
nec minus in caelo semper honesta fuit,  
quamuis Ida, RHEA, pastorem dicat amasse  
atque inter pecudes accubuisse deam.

It is true that Ovid represents the attachment of Cybele to Attis as platonic: 'casto uinxit amore deam.'<sup>1</sup> But that is not the account of Theocr. 20 (Incert. 2, Ahrens), 34 sqq., the full context of which must be quoted: οὐκ ἔγνω δ' ὅτι Κύπρις ἐπ' ἀνέρι  
μήνατο βούτα | καὶ Φρυγίοις ἐνόμευσεν ἐπέδρεστ καὶ τὸν Ἀδωνιν | ἐπέδρυμοῖσι  
φίλησε καὶ ἐν δρυμοῖσι ἔκλαυσεν; | Ἐνδυμίων δὲ τίς ἦν; οὐ βουκόλος; ὅντε  
Σελάνα | βουκολέοντα φίλησεν, ἀπ' Οὐλύμπων δὲ μολοῖσα | λάθριον ἀντάπος  
ἡλθε καὶ εἰς ὅμα παιδὶ κάθευδε. | καὶ τὸν, Ρέα, κλαίεις τὸν βουκόλον. οὐχὶ δε  
καὶ τὸν, | δὲ Κρονίδα διὰ παιδὸν βοηνόμον δρυτὸν ἐπλάγχθης; with which  
agrees Diodorus Siculus in the collection of tradition, III 58, 59; also later writers: Lactant. I 17; Arnobius, adu. nat. 4. 35; Fir-  
micus Maternus, de errore prof. religion. 3. 1; Tert. ad. nat. I  
149. It is clear that both accounts were current, as indeed was natural, and a writer might take whichever suited his purpose.

We have now a perfectly legitimate example of the figure in question: 'ipsa Venus, quamuis amans Martem, nec minus Rhea honesta fuit quamuis pastori accubuerit': and of the same type, though more difficult, as Val. Fl. V 215 sq. dona dehinc Bacchi casusque ut firmet in omnes | rapta Ceres. Of the hyperbaton (properly so called) in *Rhea* there are many examples in Latin poets; see e. g. Munro's collection on Lucr. III 843, much enlarged by Mr. Housman (Journal of Philology, XVIII, pp. 6 sqq.) and capable of much further extension, e. g. by Lucan, III 679, V 387 qua, sibi ne ferri ius ullum, Caesar, abesset, | Ausonias uoluit gladiis miscere secures; ib. 680, 800, VII 686 sq., VIII 341 sq. quem captos ducere reges | uidit ab Hyrcanis, Indoque a litore, siluis. Horace, Epod. 6. 15 sq. an — inultus ut, flebo, puer; *perhaps* even 11. 7 heu! me, per urbem, nam pudet tanti mali, | fabula quanta fui, unless the ungrammatical *heu me* is a corruption of *cheu*, which is, on the whole, more probable. Manilius, IV 535 se quisque, et uiuit, et effert. In Propertius too there is another example which the copyists have removed:

<sup>1</sup> So apparently also Martial, VIII 46.

III 19. 19 sq. quidue Clytaemnestrae propter quam tota Mycenis | infamis, stuprum, stat Pelopea domus (*stupro* MSS, but *Clytaemnestrae*, which has no construction, must be joined with *stuprum*, as in IV 7. 57<sup>1</sup>). In very few of the instances, however, is the sense really obscure; nor is it so here. The course of the corruption was probably this. *Rhea* became *Rheam*, which might happen in many ways. The stroke which denotes a nasal might be accidentally added, or *Rhea* mechanically assimilated to the next word *pastorem*; or, again, the copyist, not understanding the construction or dissatisfied with the quantity (*Rheā*), might put it in the same case as *deam*. All these changes might be illustrated from actual cases; but I spare the reader. *Rheam*, again, has practically four letters, in common with *Parim* (for *e* and *i* are everlasting confused); it is comparatively a rare word, and the latter a common one, and one, as we have seen, likely to suggest itself here.

A word about the scene and the other personages of the context. The scene is Mount Ida; and Cybele is the *Idaea mater*, her official title—Cicero, Livy, Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid. In this regard the repetition *Ida—Idaeo* appears intentional. The company, again, consists of Nymphs, Sileni and Bacchus. Now, the cult and myths of Cybele are closely connected with the Bacchic ones; see Roscher's lexicon, s. v. *Dionysos*, pp. 1085 sqq., and *Kybele*, pp. 1658 sq. But *no such connexion appears between those of Dionysos and Aphrodite*.

Lastly, it is not only clearly effective, but also more in the Propertian manner to illustrate by different individuals than by different actions of the same individual; and in the introduction of Cybele we have a climax. You ought not to expect constancy in a woman. Heroines are frail (31 sq.), goddesses are frail (33 sq.), the great mother of the gods is frail (35-40). The length of the last reference is now intelligible. The fable was less trite than Helen's infidelity and the loves of Mars and Venus ('toto notissima caelo'), and its subject more venerable.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is another indication that *stupro* is corrupt. Wherever *infamis* and *infamare* occur in Propertius, they are used without any such addition, as the idea was for Propertius contained in the word. Thus I 16. 9, II 24. 7, III 11. 28 *Iuppiter infamat seque suamque domum*.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Housman, in a review of my text of Propertius published since this article was written, the care and courtesy of which I take this opportunity of acknowledging, says (Class. Review, October, 1895, p. 352) that I must give some reason why I suppose the person meant is Rhea, whose name is not in

To sum up the general results of this inquiry. Apart from passages obviously corrupt, the Greek and Latin literatures<sup>1</sup> afford no evidence of any confusion in the use of the names of the different kinds of Nymphs: Dryads, Hamadryads, Naiads. The three are the names—the Dryads, of wood and woodland in general; the Hamadryads, of particular trees whose existence they are often supposed to share; the Naiads, of running water, especially at its source. *But* the trees which grow at such a place (possibly at other points in the stream) and from the water are

the MSS, rather than Venus, whose name is. This I trust I have done. He continues: "and it must be a strong one, if it is to justify a dislocated order of words which has no parallel in Propertius for violence, unless you accept Dr. Postgate's emendation of III xix, 19 sq." As Mr. Housman uses his collection of examples (already referred to) to defend the displacement proposed by him in I 1. 23 *tunc ego crediderim, et manes et sidera, uobis* | *posse Cytinaeis* *ducere carminibus*, he thus makes the question entirely one of degree. What amount of displacement would be too violent for Propertius, it appears arbitrary to decide. It is clear that the poet who wrote, e. g., 'et subter captos arma sedere duces' for 'captos supter' (III 4. 18) did not stick at trifles in the matter of order, while poets who in general write more simply than Propertius have dislocations quite as violent; e. g. Catullus 66 (65). 18 *non, ita me diui, uera gemunt, iuerint.* As indicated above, the real question appears to be whether a dislocation is obscure: whether it is 'violent' appears to be less material.

<sup>1</sup> I say *literatures* because, as B. Schmidt, in a valuable monograph, *Das Volksleben d. Neugriechischen u. d. Hellenischen Alterthum* (1871, Theil 1), has pointed out, modern Greek shows that at some period which we cannot fix a transference in the use of certain nymph-names took place in the popular language. *Nepaide*, which is said to be *Νηρηίδες*, is now used of *nymphs in general*. The passage of meaning from *sea-nymphs* to *water-nymphs* is not a difficult one, and modern Greek uses *νερό* for water. There is perhaps a step taken in this shifting in Eur. Ion, 1081 sqq., where we read that the fifty daughters of Nereus dance in the rivers' eddies as well as in the sea: *αλ κατὰ πόντον | ἀενάων τε ποταμῶν | δίνας χορευόμεναι.* Five centuries later Zenobius, a contemporary of Hadrian, certainly appears to say that Hylas was carried off by *Nereids*, Cent. VI 21; but it seems more than probable that we should restore *Κρηνίδων* (cf. Theocr. 1. 22) with Valckenaer, and otherwise classical antiquity does not vary from the usual conception. The generalisation of water-nymphs to *nymphs in general* would be later still. The modern Greek name for *water-sprites*, which Schmidt quotes in the forms of *Δρύμαις*, *Δρύμαις*, *Δρύμναις*, apparently comes from *δρυμός*, the nearest parallel being *Δρυνίδες* *νύμφαι*, mentioned by Cramer, Anecd. Oxon. I, p. 225. It will be seen that these words furnish no direct evidence for the confusions which we have been considering. They only prove the possibility of their occurrence, which I should be the last to deny.

under the charge of Nymphs who may be regarded either as Naiads or as Hamadryads, and where a Naiad is mentioned among the Hamadryads, such a tree-nymph<sup>1</sup> is meant.

And now I dare say some sated and ungrateful reader will hark back and say: 'The place where Hylas disappeared was just the place where, as you assert, these ambiguous nymphs abode. What can it matter, then, how the poet names them? Tree-nymphs, spring-nymphs and water-nymphs, it's all the same.' I shall not add to the tedium of my imaginary friend by exposing the fallacies which such an argument conceals. I will simply ask him first to consider whether there are two modes of death more sharply distinguished in the human consciousness than hanging and drowning; next I will beg him to read the following lines of Nonnos, in which Pentheus threatens that he will send some of the Bacchantes to join the Hamadryads and others to join the Naiads: XLIV 143 sqq. *ἀς ἐν Θῆβῃ | Ἰσμηνοῦ διεροῖσιν ἀκοντίζοντες ἐναύλοις | Νηίδας Ἀονίας ποταμηίσι μίξατε Νύμφαις | ἥλικας Ἀδρυάδας δὲ γέρων δέξαιτο Κιθαιρῶν | ἀλλας Ἀδρυάδεσσιν ὀμόζηγας ἀντὶ Λαίον;* and last of all to turn to the words by which Propertius seeks to touch our feelings at the approaching fate of Hylas: '*a dolor, ibat Hylas, ibat —*', and then say with what kind of a fate or with which Nymphs' names he thinks the blank should be filled.

J. P. POSTGATE.

<sup>1</sup> We can now apprehend the true significance of such names as *Βάτεια*, Apollodorus, III 10. 4, a *Ναΐς*, and *Μελία*, ib. II 5. 4, referred to as a *Ναΐς* in a fragment of Pindar, 156 Bergk: *ὸν Μαλεάγονος ἔθρεψε Ναΐδος ἀκοίτας Σειληνός*, instances I take from G. F. Schoemann's learned dissertation, *De nymphis Meliis gigantibus et Erinyis Theogoniae Hesiodeae* (Greifswald, 1845). In themselves, of course, these names would only prove the natural connexion of water and vegetable growth, such as is indicated by *Ιάνθη*, *Ρόδεια*, names of the *Ωκεανίδες* (*Ωκεανός*, as we know, is the parent of the rivers) in Hes. Theog. 349, 351, discussed by Schoemann in another dissertation, *De Oceanidum et Nereidum catalogis Hesiodeis* (Greifswald, 1843).

### III.—NOTES TO THE DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS BASED ON GUDEMAN'S EDITION.

The following notes present a consideration of some of the features of the vocabulary of the *Dialogus*. The *Lex. Tac.* furnishes the basis for complete comparisons so far as it is finished, but it is not possible to do this at present in the case of most authors. At whatever time the *Dialogus* was written, its vocabulary was a part of the vocabulary of the day, and as such was the result of antecedent conditions. Though the writer may not have been consciously a debtor to any preceding writer but Cicero, there are expressions used by him which can be found in other works whose style widely differs from that of the *Dialogus*. Without implying anything as to authorship, we shall for the sake of convenience speak of the writer of the *Dialogus* and of Tacitus, in comparing some features in the style of the *Dialogus* and the historical works of Tacitus. Though the language has a bearing on the question of authorship, we shall present parallels between the *Dialogus* and other works without implying that they are indicative of any connection between the writers. In the same way divergences from the usage of Tacitus will be presented simply as differences, without reference to the question whether Tacitus did or did not write the *Dialogus*. The question of the limitations of imitation or reminiscence on the one hand, and of development and of differences on the other, will not be discussed, but parallels will be presented as parallels and differences simply as differences. Besides the presentation of grammatical features, we will discuss some readings and a few other points which come up in connection with the *Dialogus*.

1, 7. *tam magnae = tantae*. There are but few examples of this usage outside of Seneca, who has the expression more than two dozen times, e. g. *Dial.* 6, 24, 3 'in tam magna seminarum turba'; *N. Q.* 3, 12, 3 'si rerum naturae tam magna portio'; *Ep.* 21, 4 'inter tam magna nomina.'

1, 13. *admodum iuvenis*. In addition to the passages usually quoted of the use of these words may be given *Livy* 29, 20, 2,

referring to Scipio: 'quattuor et viginti ferme annos' according to 26, 18, 7. 39, 47, 1, referring to Demetrius, who was about 25, according to 40, 6, 4.

1, 17. *quisque* with plural predicate, though rare in most classical prose-writers, is found twice in Sallust and seems a favorite expression of Livy, especially when he uses 'pro se quisque.' See Draeger, H. S. 1, 172.

1, 17. *animi et ingenii*, twice in the *Dialogus* and once in Tacitus, is a common collocation in Cicero and occurs a few times in Livy, e. g. 9, 17, 10; 22, 29, 9; 25, 37, 2; 34, 18, 3; 38, 50, 12; 39, 40, 4.

1, 18. *isdem nunc numeris isdemque rationibus persequar, servato ordine disputationis.* This statement seems modelled not only upon Cic. de *Orat.* III 4, 16 'nos enim qui ipsi sermoni non interfuissemus et quibus C. Cotta tantummodo locos (= numeros) ac sententias (= rationes) huius disputationis tradidisset,' but also N. D. 3, 4, 10 'mandavi enim memoriae non numerum solum, sed etiam ordinem argumentorum tuorum.' Cf. Pliny, Ep. 1, 1, 1 'servato temporis ordine.'

2, 6. The plural of *uterque* is rarely found in Quintilian and Pliny the Younger. The former has it 5, 10, 43 and 12, 1, 22; the latter, Ep. *Trai.* 19, 2 and *Pan.* 72 *utrisque*; *Pan.* 5 *utrorumque.* Cf. Suetonius, p. 311 R. 'uterque an utrius.'

2, 7. *adsectabar.* A good illustration of the use of this word is Pliny, Ep. 2, 14, 10 "narrabat ille (Quint.) 'adsectabar Domitium Afrum.'"

2, 16. *tamquam . . . habiturus.* The passages cited from Tacitus in most instances have the perfect participle instead of the future. This is explained by the omission of the subj. *essem*, although this is not paralleled by Agr. 24, 13 'saepe ex eo audivi . . . debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse; idque . . . profuturum, si . . . tolleretur.'

3, 13. *dimissa priore cura novae cogitationi incumbam.* *Cura* has the same ambiguity of meaning as the word 'work' and may mean either the composing or the composition. The first meaning is illustrated by Pliny, Ep. 3, 5, 14 'in itinere quasi solutus ceteris curis huic uni vacabat.' In the *Dial.* the word indicates the composition to correspond to *cogitatio*, which = *consilium*. Instances of this are not rare in other writers. Cic. ad *Fam.* 10, 3, 3 'incumbe in eam curam et cogitationem'; ad *Att.* 12, 35 'rogo . . . ut hanc cogitationem toto pectore amplectare.' See also ad

Att. 4, 2, 6; 8, 15A, 1; 10, 5, 1; 10, 16, 4; ad Fam. 12, 13. 1; 13, 41, 2. Livy 6, 35, 1; 40, 21, 2; 36, 7, 1 'interrogatus sententiam in universi belli cogitationem.' Sen. Dial. 10, 9, 1 'cogitationes suas in longum ordinant.' Suet. Nero 47 'cogitatione in posterum diem dilata.' Justinus 38, 1, 2 'dum in his cogitationibus versatur.'

3, 16. modo—nunc for modo—modo occurs twice in Tacitus, H. 2, 51; 3, 85. These indicate different phases of one action, while the Dialogus passage, 'modo circa Medeum, ecce nunc circa Thyestem consumas,' calls attention to two distinct actions at different periods of time. Illustrations of each usage are not wanting in both prose and poetry. Ovid, Met. 8, 290 'modo proculat . . . nunc metit'; 8, 506; 9, 766; 10, 123; 11, 64; 13, 922; Stat. Theb. 9, 773 (modo, nunc, nunc); 12, 389; Sil. Ital. 7, 590; 12, 642; 16, 504. When the words are used to contrast the past and the present they generally have different verbs, e. g. Ovid, Met. 1, 299 'modo carpsere . . . nunc ponunt'; 15, 769 'modo vulneret . . . nunc confundant'; Stat. Theb. 4, 817 'modo virens . . . nunc sordet'; 11, 40 'modo scandebant . . . nunc defendunt'; Curt. 4, 14, 21; Petron. 46 'modo circumferebat . . . nunc extendit.' In some instances no verb is expressed in either part, e. g. Ovid, Met. 13, 483 'o modo regia coniunx . . . nunc etiam praedae mala sors'; Sen. Rhet. Contr. 9, 26, 10 'modo . . . patrem, nunc periclitantem'; Curt. 10, 7, 2 'consors modo, nunc solus heres.' In some cases the verb is expressed in but one part, as in the Dialogus passage, e. g. Ovid, Met. 11, 243 'modo tu volucris . . . nunc gravis arbor eras'; Ars Am. 1, 88 'modo patronus, nunc cupid esse cliens'; Martial 6, 22, 2 'moechum modo, nunc maritum facis.'

5, 5. Spitta De Tac. in componendis enuntiatis ratione, p. 142, says: 'at numquam apud Tacitum et—et negationem sequitur quod num omnino latine dicatur valde dubium est.' C. 5, 5 'quis enim nescit neminem mihi coniunctiorem esse et usu amicitiae et assiduitate contubernii' and 34, 11 'nemo . . . dicit, quominus et iudex et adversarius' are only apparent exceptions, for while *nemo* is negative in form, it is used with positive content. The statement should perhaps be taken as referring only to three co-ordinate terms. Cf. Sen. Dial. 6, 19, 4 'nec carcerem, nec flumina . . . nec tribunalia et reos et . . . tyrannos'; Ep. 99, 9 'nil non lubricum et fallax et . . . mobilius'; de Benef. 2, 31, 5 'non, quicquid potuero, et faciam et reddam, et . . . sequar, et . . .

cupiam'; N. Q. 1, 5, 6 'non et aqua rupta fistula sparsa et remo excussa . . .'; Dial. 18, 10 'non illa levis et fugax et subinde fugienda'; 113, 15 'nulli non et color proprius est et figura sua et magnitudo'; 117, 15 'quominus et sapientia bonum sit et habere sapientiam'; Cic. ad Att. 2, 17, 1 'ne et opera et oleum'; ad Fam. 11, 28, 4 'nisi et vita et spes.' (See note ad C. 22, 20.)

5, 9. quisquis alias. *alias* following a relative pronoun is found nine times in the *Dialogus* and thirty times in *Tacitus*, once in inverse order—Ann. 14, 33 'aliudve quod.' In *Livy* *alias* follows in most cases. Out of thirty-nine instances noticed in *Seneca*, *aliud* precedes in but four, e. g. de Benef. 6, 19, 1 'aliud quoddam.' *Gellius* uses the words very freely, but in the forty-five instances noticed he does not seem to have any preference as to arrangement.

5, 10. *Gloria* is used throughout the *Dialogus* of literary fame and also in Ann. 12, 28. There does not seem to have been any disinclination to use the word with this meaning whenever an occasion presented itself. Cf. Sall. Cat. 1, 3; 3, 2; Verg. G. 4, 6; Propertius 5, 10, 3; Martial 1, 25, 8; 5, 10, 12; 10, 64, 3; 10, 103, 3; Pliny, Ep. 1, 16, 6; 2, 3, 8; 3, 9, 8; 3, 21, 6; 5, 17, 5; 6, 8, 6; 7, 9, 10; Sil. Ital. 4, 527; 9, 343.

5, 13. apud *nos*. *Vos* is objected to on the ground that it would include the author. If so in this passage, then consistently so throughout the *Dialogus* where the reference is a general one, e. g. 16, 5 et *Messalla* 'aperiam' inquit 'cogitationes meas, si illud a vobis ante impetravero, ut vos quoque sermonem hunc nostrum adiuvetis.' The inclusion of the writer at any point where *vos* is used is to violate the spirit in which the author gives his *ex parte* testimony as to the dialogue by representing the speakers as not at all conscious of his presence at any point in the conversation.

6, 8. *orbos et locupletes et potentes*. Cf. Sen. de Benef. 4, 3, 2 'locupletes et potentes et reges aliena ope non indigentes.'

6, 11. Draeger, H. S. II, p. 365, §431, is wrong in confining the use of *voluptas* with the infinitive in prose to the *Dialogus*. Cf. Sen. de Benef. 4, 13, 2 'nobis voluptas est dare beneficia vel laboriosa'; 7, 2, 3 'illa est voluptas et homine et viro digna non implere corpus . . .'; Ep. 90, 40 'inventum monstrare alteri voluptas erat.'

6, 11. *homines veteres et senes*. Cf. Aelius Lampridius (Scrip. Hist. Aug. 18) 16, 3 'illi consuetudo, ut si de iure aut de negotiis tractaret, solos doctos et disertos adhiberet, si vero de re militari, militares veteres et senes bene meritos et locorum peritos.'

6, 24. *lenocinatur voluptati*. With the meaning 'adds to' the verb is used also G. 43. No distinction can be made between the meaning in the *Dialogus* passage and Sen. *Contr. I* 1, 18 'lenocinatur, inquam, gloriae meae, ut videar patrem etiam prohibitus aluisse.'

6, 25. *extemporalis*. This word seems to occur but twice in preceding writers: Sen. *Rhet. Contr. VII*, *Intr. 2* 'e. facultas'; Petronius 6 'ab extemporali declamatione' (quoted by Mayor ad *Juv. I*, 16).

6, 26. *quamquam quae [alia]* *diu seruntur atque elaborantur grata*, *gratiora tamen quae sua sponte nascuntur*. The restoration of *quae* seems correct, though the reading *quaedam* (Bennett) without *grata* restores the contrast, and by the dropping of *quae* after *quamquam* leaves the letters *-dam*, out of which were differentiated both *diu* and *alia* by different scribes.

7, 4. *pro mediocritate huius quantulaecumque in dicendo facultatis*. These words of Aper seem modelled after the words of Crassus, *Cic. de Orat. I*, 25, 117 'illam ipsam, quamcumque adsequi potuerit, in dicendo mediocritatem.'

7, 10. *in alvo oritur*. The MSS have *alio* and editors have put forth more than a dozen conjectures in its stead. The evident contrast is between oratorical power and the lack of it. The following illustrations are of men 'quo sordidius et abiectius nati sunt . . . eo clariora et ad demonstrandam oratoria eloquentiae utilitatem inlustriora exempla sunt.' To the long number of conjectures we add 'in *oratoria* oritur,' the larger part of the noun having fallen out before the verb of similar form. See *Quint. 2, 14*.

7, 13. *iuvenes vacuos et adulescentes*. MSS *iuvenes et adulescentes*, most editors *vacuos et adulescentes*. For a statement similar to the common reading see Sen. *Ep. 20, 2* 'qui iuvenum et otiosorum aures disputatione varia aut volubili detinent.'

8, 11. *sordidius et abiectius*. The same collocation occurs *Tac. 13, 46, 16*, but with the words in reverse order. The same is true of *tueri et defendere* D. 7, 8: G. 14, 4; *robur ac vires* D. 10, 22: *Hist. 1, 87; 2, 11*; *gloria, honor* D. 12, 14: G. 5, 5; *severitas ac disciplina* D. 28, 11: G. 25, 7; *probitas et modestia* D. 29, 7; 40, 8: G. 36, 4; *labor et meditatio* D. 30, 9: A. 4, 61. This difference of arrangement is not without interest, since the reversed order of words in the *Dialogus* may be considered as evidence of the direct indebtedness of the author to Cicero. C.

8, 18 the arrangement 'agunt feruntque' is a variation from the usual order of the words in both Greek and Latin. "Cf. Tac. Ann. XIV 38 'igni atque ferro' for the regular 'ferro ignique.'" The reverse order of these words is found elsewhere, e. g. Vell. 2, 110 'igni ferroque'; Curt. 3, 4, 3; Sen. Dial. 2, 2, 2. See also Draeger, H. S. II 65.

8, 12. *quoquo* = *et quo*. To the list of examples given by Draeger, H. S. II 36, add Nepos Pelop. 4, 3; Livy 22, 42, 2; Curt. 4, 1, 16; Sen. Ep. 17, 7; de Benef. 2, 13, 1.

8, 12. *notabilior* is used twice by Tacitus. The positive is freely used by Pliny the Younger, who also has the comparative, Ep. 3, 11, 2. C. 18, 7. The comparatives of both *audens* and *audenter* are not freely used. The former occurs Tac. H. II 2; Verg. Aen. VI 95; Sen. Ep. 82, 19 (after quoting the passage from Vergil); Pliny, Ep. 9, 26, 9; 9, 33, 4; Stat. Theb. 2, 175; 9, 208; Suet. Jul. 58; Am. Marc. 15, 5, 30. The comp. of *audenter* is found in five passages in Tac., Quint. 8, 3, 27; Suet. Cal. 8 'absumque *audentius mendacio*'; Am. Marc. 27, 9, 1.

The comparative of *fidelis* is found C. 34, 25 and Ann. XV 67, in a quotation. It does not seem to have been avoided by other writers, e. g. Livy 23, 16, 1; 39, 26, 12; Sen. (Dial. 4, 34, 4; N. Q. 4, 10, 1 adv.); Quint. (10, 3, 2; 6, 2 adv.); Pliny, Ep. (1, 12, 7; 2, 13, 6; 3, 14, 3).

8, 18. *principes* in Caesaris amicitia for p. amicorum Caesaris or p. inter C. amicos. Cf. Pliny, Ep. 3, 5, 18 'in amicitia *principis*'; 3, 7, 3 'in Vitelli amicitia.'

9, 2. *apud te*. 21, 1 in *quibusdam*. Peterson ad Quint. 10, 2, 15 states that *in* is used for *apud* in speaking of an author's whole works or general characteristics, not of a particular passage or a particular composition. The broad distinction between the two prepositions is that *apud* is personal and is used with the names of authors when one has their works and not their persons in mind. In early Latin, *in* was regularly used when the reference was to the author's works. However, in late Latin *in* encroached on *apud*, and Servius and other writers regularly use *in* where early writers would have used *apud*. The distinction drawn between *in* and *apud* does not hold at all for this period. When *in* is used with the name of an author in the earlier period it does not differ from *apud* with respect to general or particular reference, but the author is considered with respect to his style or credibility. So considered, the author is depersonalized and

takes the impersonal preposition *in*. See Schmalz, *Antibarbarus*, s. v. *in*.

The statement 21, 1 'equidem fatebor vobis simpliciter me in quibusdam antiquorum vix risum, in quibusdam autem vix somnum tenere. Nec unum de populo . . .' is an evident adaptation of a statement of Cicero, Brutus 85, 293 'ita laudavisti quosdam oratores, ut imperitos posses in errorem inducere. equidem in quibusdam risum vix tenebam quum Attico Lysiae Catonem comparabas.' Preceded and followed as *quibusdam* is by personal nouns, it seems that it also must be personal. This would decide the gender of *quibusdam* in the *Dialogus* passage, even if the following *unum* did not point to a preceding personal word. The *in*, however, has a meaning entirely different from *in* used in quotations. It is here used 'with reference to,' depending on *risum tenere*, as in Cic. in Vatin. 8, 20 'in qua tua cogitatione nos . . . vix dolorem ferebamus, illi autem . . . vix risum tenebant.'

9, 22. *mansurum*. The first instance of the use of this word as an adjective seems to be Verg. Aen. 3, 86 'mansuram urbem.' It is found a few times in Ovid, e. g. Met. 5, 227 'mansura monimenta,' and Seneca, e. g. Dial. 1, 6, 5; 3, 20, 2 'firmo mansuroque'; de Benef. 1, 11, 1; 1, 12, 1; N. Q. 2, 50, 2. Tacitus has six examples, and it is the only future participle which is freely used by him as an adjective. See Helm, *Quaest. Synt.*, p. 19 f.

9, 26. *indulgentiam* *principis mereri*. The frequent occurrence of *indulgentia* in the epistles of Pliny to Trajan (22 times), as well as the frequent use of *indulgeo*, shows that the word was common in the courtly phraseology of the day. For *mereri* = *consequi* see Peterson ad Quint. 10, 1, 72.

9, 28. *genium propitiare*. For a similar expression see Petronius 74 'genium meum propitium habeam.'

9, 30. Another good example of *ex* adding an intellectual element to the original meaning is Fronto, p. 146 N. 'hoc indicat loqui te quam eloqui malle.' Cf. Sen. Ep. 123, 17 'haec discenda, immo ediscenda sunt.' Cf. Gellius 1, 15, 18.

10, 5. *nedum ut*. To the examples given by Draeger, H. S. II 693, add Sen. Dial. 2, 8, 3; 10, 7, 4.

10, 14. *vester* = *tuus*. A good example of this is Pliny, Ep. Trai. 3, 1 'ut primum me, domine, indulgentia vestra promovit.' *tua indulgentia* is used 17 times.

10, 22. *robur ac vires*. Livy has the same arrangement 21, 40, 8; 25, 21, 7; 42, 11, 6. In reverse order 42, 51, 4, as in Tac. H. 1, 87; 2, 11.

10, 17. For an example of polysyndetic *et* more than twice repeated see Ann. 13, 21, 16 'adoptio et proconsulare ius, et designatio consulatus, et cetera apiscendo imperio praepararentur.'

10, 20. *mox summa adeptus*, for the usual reading *adepturus* is accepted on the analogy of Tac. H. II 82 'plerosque senatorii ordinis honore percoluit (sc. Vespasianus) egregios viros et mox summa adeptos.' The two passages, however, are not at all analogous. To Vespasian they were *egregii*, while *adeptos* is a statement from the standpoint of Tacitus looking at their subsequent career, and not from the standpoint of Vespasian. *Adepturus summa* is not objectionable, for the nominative of the fut. part. with acc. occurs, e. g. Pliny, Ep. 1, 8, 3; Sen. Dial. 6, 24, 2; de Benef. 1, 1, 2.

10, 24. *vanescere* for *evanescere* occurs frequently in Tacitus, who uses the common form but once, H. 2, 32. Neither Pliny the Younger nor Quintilian use either word freely. Pliny has *vanescere* Ep. 1, 8, 15; 6, 16, 6; Quint. *vanescere* 4, 3, 8; *evanescere* 1, 7, 6; 6, 1, 28; 12, 10, 75.

10, 32. *meditatus videris elegisse*. Although *meditatus* is not used by Tacitus in an absolute and active sense, Ciceronian usage clearly supports it, e. g. de Orat. 2, 80, 325 'meditati ediderunt'; de Legg. 1, 4, 12 'paratus et meditatus accedo.'

12, 13. *male admissum*. *Admissum* as a noun is rare. To the short list in Harpers' Lex. add Ovid, Met. 1, 210 'quod tamen admissum, quae sit vindicta, docebo'; 11, 380 'memor admissi'; Macrobius, Sat. 1, 11, 3 'plenum crudelitatis admissum.'

12, 14. *Ulli* as a substantive is rare in prose. Tac. uses it Ann. 11, 27 'ullis mortalium.' In the following it is used only with a negative, as in the Dialogus: Sen. Dial. 7, 27, 2 'nec ulli magis intellegunt'; de Benef. 3, 28, 6; Pliny, Ep. 2, 14, 8 'nec ulli magis laudant'; 7, 20, 1; Suet. Jul. 75 'nec ulli . . . reperientur.' With *non*: Sen. Rhet. Contr. 1, 2, 11 'non ullas . . . admittit.'

12, 18. *introspicere altius*. *Alte* with the same meaning occurs again C. 19, 12 'alte repetita series,' and in three passages in Tacitus, Ann. 3, 65, 72. H. 4, 12 'a. expediam,' which is from Vergil, G. 4, 285. *Alte* seems to have been closely associated with *repeto*, see e. g. Cic. ad Fam. 1, 9, 4; Orat. 3, 11; Justinus 18, 3, 1; 42, 2, 7; Sen. Rhet. Contr. 2, 11, 6; 2, 13, 14; Sen. Nat. Quaest. 2, 2, 2; 3, 12, 1; Quint. 5, 7, 27; 6, 2, 2; 6, 5, 3; 11, 1, 62; Pliny, Ep. 2, 3, 3; 2, 6, 1; 4, 11, 15; 4, 13, 10; 7, 4, 2; Suet. Nero 2.

12, 19 fabulosa nimis et composita. 37, 35 intulerit ictus et excepit. These passages illustrate the Dialogus usage in placing between two words another word which stands in the same relation to both. This inclusion of a term can be well illustrated from Pliny, Ep. 5, 6: 8 'frequens ibi et varia venatio'; 12 'hieme dumtaxat et vere'; 16 'demissus inde pronusque pulvinus'; 7 'procera nemora et antiqua'; 45 'placida omnia et quiescentia'; 42 'iudicium meum vel errorem'; 31 'sole utuntur aut umbra'; 37 'fons egerit aquam et recipit.' Seneca furnishes numerous examples. A few will be given, showing the wide range of its use: Dial. 1, 3, 3 'sonat adhuc et vibrat'; 5, 40, 2 'varie adgrediens blandeque'; 11, 16, 4; Ep. 74, 31; Dial. 1, 2, 10 'bonas tandem ac nobiles edet operas'; 6, 11, 3 'inbecillum corpus et fragile'; de Benef. 2, 34, 4 'pusilli animi et contracti'; N. Q. 2, 26, 7; 2, 27, 1; 7, 27, 6 'insigne quiddam et singulare'; Ep. 20, 3 'vestis tua domusque'; 66, 34 'urbibus notus et populis'; 66, 40 'vi quadam et patientia'; 123, 14 'descendentium habitus et adscendentium'; 116, 4 'lacrimas suas et voluptates'; Dial. 1, 4, 12 'verberat nos et lacerat fortuna'; 5, 30, 1 'frivolis turbamur et inanibus'; 6, 16, 3 'et occisos vidit et insepultos'; Ep. 48, 7 'tristes docemus et pallidi'; 59, 8 'sequuntur pericula et occurunt.' We have noticed, without attempting to find out the exact number, about 150 instances of this inclusion in Seneca.

13, 17. *ut* Vergilius ait. The subject usually follows the verb in this form of statement, which is not found in Tacitus, for in Ann. 11, 3 and 15, 69 there is no quotation. Schmalz, Antib. I, p. 124, cites eight more passages where the arrangement is similar, including Quint. 10, 7, 14 'ut Cicero dicit,' and 12, 10, 56 'ut Cicero praecipit.' From Seneca's Epistles add 78, 28 'ut Posidonius ait'; 84, 3 'ut Vergilius noster ait'; 115, 8 'ut Ariston ait'; 122, 2 'ut M. Cato ait.' Also Dial. 3, 19, 7 'ut Plato ait'; N. Q. 3, 20, 5; 4, 3, 4.

13, 19. *in illa sacra illosque fontes ferant.* This statement of Maternus is based on Verg. G. 2, 475 'me... dulces Musae quarum sacra fero.' The addition of *fontes* illustrates the duplication of parts so common in the Dialogus. Both *sacra* and *fontes* are used either literally or metaphorically, and either meaning will suit here, though the words of Vergil which seem to have been in the mind of Maternus point to the metaphorical meaning. If taken literally, *sacra* must = *sacra loca*, a meaning not found in Tacitus, for in H. 3, 33 'omnia sacra profanaque in

ignes considerent,' and Ann. 1, 54 'profana simul et sacra . . . solo aequantur,' the meaning of the verbs precludes *sacra loca* as subject. Ann. 1, 79 'sacra et lucos et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint' seems but a variation of the statement of Pliny, N. H. 2, 140 'lucusque et aras et sacra habemus,' where the context decides the meaning of *sacra*.

15, 1. *vetera tantum et antiqua*. This pleonastic collocation, though not found in Quintilian, is found in Decl. 314, p. 235, 14 'vetus illa et antiqua.' A similar combination of *vetus* and *priscus* was current in the days of Cicero: Tim. 11, 38 'veteribus et priscis, ut aiunt, viris.'

15, 15. *Sacerdos iste Nicetes*. Though it is impossible to decide the question, it is not improbable that the elder and the younger Nicetes may have been distinguished by the same characteristic delivery. At the close of William Pitt's first speech in Parliament, Burke remarked: "It is not a chip of the old block; it is the old block itself" (Macaulay, 'William Pitt').

16, 22. *utrique superstites essent*. The general statement is that Demosthenes and Hyperides flourished (*floruisse*) in the times of Philip and Alexander: 'ita tamen ut utrique superstites essent.' Aper's intention was to give in general terms the period when the men flourished, and to prevent a too close limitation he adds that they survived both.

This statement is closely connected with the following: 'ex quo appareret non multo plures quam CCCC annos inter nostram et Demosthenis aetatem.' From the period of the greatest activity of Demosthenes closed by the De Corona (330 B. C.) it was a little over 400 years to the time of the dialogue. Had the writer wished to reckon from the death of Demosthenes, he could have said *mortem* more easily than *aetatem*, and need not have uselessly called attention to the period when the men flourished. Even counting from the death of Demosthenes, nearly 100 years, one-fourth of the whole number, is altogether too long a period to be designated by 'non multo plures.'

In the case of numerals, the MSS readings in the *Dialogus* are not at all reliable. The wealth of Marcellus and Vibius (8, 5), the present number, the *magnus annus* (16, 31), the years of the reign of Augustus (17, 10), the years of Vespasian (17, 14), the time since the death of Cicero (17, 15), the number of the speeches of Cicero in Verrem (20, 3), the ages given (34, 32-33) involving two chronological errors, are either incorrect or open to discussion.

*Tres et viginti* (17, 11) and *centum et viginti* (24, 14) are correct. *Quingenta* (9, 25) and *centum* (25, 4) in all probability retain the value originally expressed by a single letter. The time since the age of Nestor and Ulixes (16, 19) represents in round numbers the computations of antiquity. *Unum et viginti* (21, 5), the number of the speeches of Calvus, can neither be verified nor refuted by comparisons with the statement of any other author on the same subject. From this it will be seen that the chances in any doubtful passage are against the correctness of any definite numerical statement in the MSS.<sup>1</sup>

With this in mind it is not at all necessary to believe that there is anything in the MS reading (17, 14) 'sextam iam . . . statio-  
nem' which makes it any more probable than any other reading which can be satisfactorily defended as a statement of fact. The MS reading gives a succession of cardinal numbers followed by an ordinal. This is only one year, not six, and one, not six, should be added to the preceding numbers. That *sextam* is introduced where a cardinal is demanded is sufficient to cast doubt on the correctness of the reading. The source of the error was, we believe, twofold—a wrong transcription and the introduction of a gloss. With the reading *VI-VII* or *VIIIAMTAM* (sc. *annos*) . . . *STATIONIS*, the unusual meaning to be given to *stationis* would call out the gloss *principatus*. The change of *VI-VII* or *VIII* with the letters following, to *sextam* was easy, carrying *stationis* into the accusative, thereby making room for the gloss *principatus*. Both of these methods find place in the explanation of the text of the Dialogus. One is applied 20, 3 to explain the change of *VIINVERREM* to *quinq*ue* in Verrem*. The second is of frequent application; see Gudeman ad 10, 25; 15, 4; 17, 26; 29, 8; 30, 5; 34, 21; 35, 1.

17, 15. *centum et viginti anni ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem colliguntur, unius hominis aetas.* The same statement occurs again 24, 14. These statements, c. 37, 7 'cum maxime a Muciano contrahuntur,' and the one referring to Vespasian (17, 14) are the only ones which have any special bearing on the date of the

<sup>1</sup> The difficulty seems to have arisen in dealing with the Roman numerals, whose proper transcription, in the case of numbers not well known, depended on a clearly discriminating power of the eye. As a good illustration of the failure to transcribe properly, see the MS statement of the number of years in the *magnus annus*, C. 16, 31; Serv. ad Verg. A. 1, 269; 3, 284. See also Crit. Ap. to Pliny, N. H., *passim*.

dialogue. The data are the number of years from the beginning of Vespasian's reign, while Mucianus was still alive, 120 years from the death of Cicero. A reference to Mucianus in Pliny, N. H. 32, 6, 62 indicates that he was then dead. As Mucianus is mentioned in book 31, it is not an improbable supposition that he died not long before the statement in book 32 was written. The date of the death of Mucianus can thus be brought within quite definite limits. That Pliny the Elder composed rapidly is shown by Pliny, Ep. 3, 5. Two works containing 68 books were written after the reign of Nero. Making some allowances for the time spent in the collection of material, the 32d book must have been written but a short time before the dedication to Titus in 77 A. D. In the Praef. 2, Pliny says of Titus: 'tu sexies consul ac tribuniciae potestatis particeps'; 2, 24, 22, 89 'de qua quinto consulatu suo Titus imperator perscripsit, ad hunc diem novissime visa.' The entire work is thus seen to be confined to a very short period before the time of the dedication, and the statement about Mucianus coming so near the end of the work makes it probable that Mucianus died in 77 A. D.

The words *unius hominis aetas* are considered by Gudeman as the pivotal point upon which Aper's argument rests, the enumeration of the reigns being brought in merely for the purposes of verification.

The argument for the existence of the Roman belief that 120 constituted the limit of human life is based upon two statements: Treb. Poll. Vita Claud. 2 'Doctissimi mathematicorum centum et viginti annos homini ad vivendum datos . . .'; Serv. ad Verg. Aen. 4, 653 'Tribus humana vita continetur, natura cui ultra centum et viginti annos concessum non est; fato . . . fortuna.' The statement of Treb. Poll. contains a statement referring to Moses which indicates that the limits stated had been computed by Christians, if so the fact did not form a part of Pagan belief. That this was the case is shown by Censorinus de D. N. 17, 3-4, who mentions this as one of five different views. Servius states that 120 years are the limit *natura*, and that 90 years or three revolutions of Saturn 'exitium creant, nisi forte aliarum stellarum benignitas etiam tertium eius supereret cursum.' The Schol. Dan. ad Aen. 4, 696 does not seem to be aware of the distinction drawn by Servius, nor does Servius himself seem to be committed to 120 years to the exclusion of other periods: ad Aen. 6, 325 'centum autem annos ideo dicit, quia hi sunt legitimi vitae

humanae.' See also comment on *saecula*, ad Aen. 8, 508. Gellius 13, 1 discusses *praeter naturam* and *praeter fatum* in Cicero, and makes both mean a violent death. He quotes a parallel statement from Demosthenes, and says: "Αὐτόματος enim θάνατος quasi naturalis et fatalis nulla extrinsecus vi coactus venit." The two are considered synonymous; nor do earlier references to death, *fato*, contain any inkling of the interpretation of Servius. Cf. Macr. Som. Scip. 1, 6, 83 'cum aetas tua quinquagesimum et sextum annum compleverit, quae summa tibi fatalis erit, spes . . . te videbit . . . sed si evaseris insidias propinquorum.'

The statement that two men reached the age of 120 years (Cic. de Sén. 19, 69; Pliny, N. H. 7, 48, 156; Ps. Plut. Placit. 5, 30) can be matched by statements about men who reached still greater ages. If the statement of Tac. Ag. 44 'excessit LVI anno . . . medio in spatio integrae aetatis eruptus' points to the same belief, it will be necessary to interpret other references to *aetas* in the same way. But other expressions in Tacitus, such as *exacta aetas* and *extrema aetas*, will not bear such an interpretation. The promise of the *haruspices* recorded by Flav. Vop. Vita Floriani 15 (2), 2 was to be fulfilled at the end of a thousand years. Vopiscus suggests that he gives the statement merely as a curiosity. Censorinus de D. N. 17, 15 quotes from Varro a statement of the *augur Vettius*, that if there were 12 vultures 'quoniam CXX annos incolumis praeterisset populus Romanus, ad mille et ducentos perventurum.' The method is the same as is Vergil's in computing the length of the reign of Ascanius, and the line of the Alban kings—successive multiplying of the base number by ten.

Whatever weight may be attached to the passages indicating a belief in 120 years as the limit of human life, the fact is not stated where we would most expect it. Pliny, N. H. VII 153–65 considers the duration of life, but finally has recourse to the census of Vespasian, and gives ages varying from 120 to 150 years. Censorinus de Die Natali 17 considers the question at considerable length. After defining *saeculum* (2): 'spatiū vitae humanae longissimum partu et morte definitum,' and discussing the limits fixed by others, he gives (5–6) the Etruscan method of computation. Their *saecula* had varied from 100 to 123 years, according to Varro. The Romans, because they could not compute the *saeculum* exactly, (13) fixed 100 years as the limit because that was an Etruscan *saeculum*, because many Romans

lived to that age, and perhaps, as Varro records, because of a belief that men could not endure longer. (See also Pliny, N. H. 11, 37. 70, 184.) He closes the discussion with the statement of Vettius quoted above, referring not to *personal*, but to *national* existence.

Statements in the writers of about the time of Tacitus do not reveal any such belief.

Seneca, Dial. 6, 21, 3 'licet mihi vivaces et in memoriam traditae senectutis viros nomines, centenos denosque percenseas annos'; 10, 3, 2 'pervenisse te ad ultimum aetatis humanae videmus. centesimus tibi vel supra premitur annus'; Ep. 74, 27 'honestam vitam ex centum annorum numero . . .'; 91, 14 'ab origine sua centesimus annus est, aetas ne homini quidem extrema.' Cf. 72, 3 'longissimos humani aevi terminos'; 77, 20. *Hominis aetas*, definitely limited, is not mentioned. Tacitus, Agr. 3, 10, says of 15 years: 'grande mortalis aevi spatium'; Quint. 3, 1, 9 'longissimae aetatis nam centum et novem vixit annos'; Pliny, Ep. 2, 1, 7 'plenus annis abiit'; 4 'annum tertium et octogessimum excessit.' For later statements see Capella 6, 697 'aetas illis ultra humanam fragilitatem prolixa, ut mature pereat qui centenarius moritur'; Macr. Som. Scip. 1, 6, 76 'aut decies septeni aut septies deni computentur anni, haec a physicis creditur meta vivendi, et hoc vitae humanae perfectum spatium terminatur.'

The late period at which the statements of Servius and Treb. Poll. were made, the attitude of other writers to the facts stated, the absence of any mention by contemporary writers of the supposed limit, give sufficient ground to reject the interpretation that for the time of Tacitus *hominis aetas* meant 120 years to the exclusion of other periods. Even if the fact could be established beyond a doubt, nothing would be gained. If *hominis aetas* = 120 years and the sum of the reigns verifies the correctness of the statement *hominis aetas*, it also verifies 120 years. Nothing is gained by shifting from a number to its equivalent expressed in another way. That the items were given for the verification of the sum 120 years is shown by the fact that at the close of c. 24 Maternus returns to the subject, and speaks not of the *hominis aetas*, but of the exact number of years. Aper gave the separate items, summed them up, gave an example of a man whose age was not known, but it was to the exact number of years that the minds of his hearers clung, though Messalla paid but little attention to the statements, and (25, 4) drew the line 'ante centum annos.'

Aper had a twofold object in calling attention to the fact that 120 years had elapsed since the death of Cicero. First to show that the glory of the orators mentioned from Caesar (B. C. 100-44) to Corvinus (B. C. 64?-A. D. 8?) was nearer to his own age than to the age of Servius Galba (189-138 B. C.) or of C. Carbo (Cons. 120 B. C.); second, to prevent the disputants from classifying as ancients 'oratores quos eorundem hominum aures adgnoscere ac velut coniungere et copulare potuerunt.' He illustrates the latter by two examples: one an old man whom he had seen in Britain, and who had seen Caesar; the other, some old soldiers who had received a donation from Augustus, and who might have heard Corvinus and Asinius. Aper had seen the old Briton; his hearers had seen the old soldiers. Both illustrations are used as connecting links between two periods. Soldiers 95 years old when the congiarium was distributed by Titus in 72 A. D. were 25 years old in 2 A. D., while Corvinus was still before the public, three years before the death of Asinius. The age of the Briton was his age, 55 B. C. + 132 — the number of years since he had been seen by Aper. In other terms, his age was  $x + 132 - y$  or about  $152 - y$ . He may have been 150 or even older when seen by Aper. In neither illustration is the age fixed, but in this way Aper connected his hearers with Corvinus through the soldiers, and himself with Cicero through the Briton. In using these illustrations he perhaps did nothing more than follow rhetorical models, for Sen. Rhet. Contr. 11 Intr. says of himself: 'omnes autem magni in eloquentia nominis excepto Cicerone videor audisse; ne Ciceronem quidem aetas mihi eripuerit, sed bellorum furor . . . intra coloniam meam me continuit: alioqui . . . potui adesse illud ingenium . . . cognoscere et . . . vivam vocem audire.'

16, 29. *caeli siderumque*. The combination of these two words seems to have been common, e. g. Verg. G. 1, 335; Ovid, Met. 2, 487; 14, 172; Livy 24, 34, 2; Mela 3, 101; Curt 4, 10, 4; Pliny, Pan. 1; Manil. 1, 278; 2, 102; Sil. Ital. 9, 326; Capella 9, 891; Arnob. Adv. Nat. 3, 37. Also Tac. Agricola 12, 14. In reverse order Sen. H. F. 75, Phaed. 964; Pliny, N. H. 2, 12; Sen. N. Q. 2, 1, 5.

16, 29. *cum maxime* 'at this particular time' is found also c. 37, 7, eight times in Tacitus, a few times in Cicero and Livy, e. g. 29, 17, 20 'passi sumus et cum maxime patimur,' and is used with considerable freedom by Seneca, e. g. Dial. 3, 16, 3; 5, 33, 4; 5, 38, 1—at least 29 times.

17, 13. *longum et unum*. Cf. Pliny, *Pan.* 58 'longum quendam et sine discriminé annum.' For the postpositive position of *unus* see Mart. 4, 40, 6 'communis nobis lectus et unus erat'; 11, 49, 2 'pauper et unus erat.'

17, 29. *Corvinus in medium usque Augusti principatus . . . duravit*. *Temporal in usque* is not used by Tacitus, but this does not necessarily require the rejection of a non-Tacitean expression in the *Dialogus*. *Usque* is fairly common with *durare*, e. g. Tac. *Ann.* 14, 1; H. 5, 10; *Just.* 2, 4, 32; *Quint.* 3, 1, 9; Pliny, *Ep.* 5, 16, 5. Though *usque ad* is used in these passages, *durare in* is common, and the references given by Theilman, *Archiv*, VI 479 seqq., show that writers from Seneca to Suetonius were not averse to the use of *in usque*, though it is not so common as *usque ad*.

The fact that the information is superfluous is not a valid objection to the passage. Many of the details given, e. g. the years of the reign of the emperors and the year in which the conversation took place, must have been well known to the interlocutors, and to Fabius, if the work was written within a few years, the fact that the author was *iuvénis* at the time of the dialogue. Messalla expressly states (c. 28, 1) that the facts stated by him were well known: 'non reconditas, Materne, requiris nec aut tibi ipsi aut huic Secundo vel huic Apro ignotas.'

19, 11. *si dicendo quis diem eximeret*. See Cic. *ad Quint.* *Frat.* 2, 1, 3 'tum Clodius rogatus diem dicendo eximere coepit.' Without the specifying ablative the words *diem eximere* have a variety of meanings, e. g. *Livy* 1, 50, 8 'ea res exemisset illum diem'; Pliny, *Ep.* 5, 9, 2 'dimituntur centumviri, eximitur dies'; Tac. H. 3, 81 'eximi supremo certamini unum diem postulabat'; *Livy* 25, 3, 17 'concilio diem eximeret.'

19, 21. *etsi non instructus at certe imbutus*. Judging by the meaning of *imbuere* in other passages, the contrast here is between scholastic and non-scholastic acquirements, and not between exact and superficial knowledge. Cicero *de Orat.* 2, 39, 162 'doctrina liberaliter institutus et aliquo iam imbutus usu'; *Orat.* 49, 165 'non scripta, sed nata lex quam non didicimus . . . verum ex natura ipsa adripuimus . . . ad quam non docti, sed facti, non instituti, sed imbuti sumus.' The thoroughness of the work is implied Pliny *Ep.* 3, 1, 6 'quibus praeceptis imbuare'; *Quint.* 2, 3, 2 'optimis imbui'; *Just.* 29, 1, 7 'dux Annibal constituitur . . . odio Romanorum, quo imbutum eum a pueritia sciebant.'

*etsi non . . . at certe*. Also *Ann.* 12, 39 'etsi non proelium at certe bellum.' Suet. *Cal.* 12. 'Si non . . . at certe' is more com-

mon, e. g. Cic. de Off. 3, 7, 33; ad Fam. 15, 15, 1; ad Att. 9, 7A, 1; Sen. Dial. 11, 4, 3; Front. Strat. 2, 3, 16; Pliny, Ep. 2, 3, 8. 'Etiam si non . . . at certe,' Sen. Contr. 1, 3, 1; Sen. Dial. 5, 1, 4. *Tamen* is much more commonly used, but in several instances Livy avoided its use, though not using 'etsi non . . . at certe.' 22, 54, 6; 27, 40, 9 he has 'certe . . . etsi non,' avoiding the adversative particle by reversing the order. 2, 43, 8 'etsi non . . . saltem'; 25, 6, 2 'etsi non . . . certe'; 38, 26, 6 'etsi non'; 44, 6, 7 'etiam si non' without the following particle. Also Ovid, Met. 2, 322. With *at*, Sen. Ep. 68, 1.

20, 8. *laetitia* referring to literary qualities occurs again Macr. Sat. 5, 1, 15, commenting on Verg. G. I 84 seqq. 'ecce dicendi genus quod nusquam alibi deprehendes, in quo nec praeceps brevitas nec infrunita copia, nec iejuna siccitas nec laetitia pinguis.'

21, 7. *nec dissentire* *alios*. Quintilian gives a more favorable view of Calvus 10, 1, 115 'inveni qui Calvum praeferrent omnibus.' Though these statements show widely different attitudes toward Calvus, there is hardly sufficient ground for the belief that a reaction in favor of Calvus had set in during the interval between the two statements. Aper's statements, c. 21, 33 and 22, 12, seem like intentional misrepresentations. Messalla attaches no weight to the statement of Aper, for in c. 25 he ranks Calvus with the best of Roman orators. However extensive may have been the uncriticised residue of the works of Calvus, there was enough, in the opinion of Messalla, to give him a high rank.

21, 11. *verbis ornata et sententiis*. This is from Cic. Orat. 3, 13 'ornata verbis atque sententiis.'

21, 30. Gudeman here calls attention to the fact that both Asinius and Seneca were so blind to their own faults as to criticise others for peculiarities conspicuous in their own writings. Had the men criticised retorted with a just criticism, the two sets of critics would be accusing each other of identical faults. At c. 18, 24 this state of affairs is not considered likely in the case of Brutus and Cicero. The attitude of Asinius and Seneca to their own faults shows at least a possibility of either Cicero or Brutus erring in critical judgments.

22, 8. *iuxta finem vitae*. For a similar use of *iuxta* denoting temporal relations cf. Pliny, N. H. 2, 77, 79, 188 'iuxta solstitia . . . iuxta solstitium.'

22, 8. *senior iam*. One class of the MSS has this reading, the other *iam senior*. In support of the latter may be quoted

the statement of Quint. 12, 6, 4 'iam senior idem fatetur.' Both Quint. and the writer may be following the form stereotyped by Vergil, Aen. 5, 179; 6, 304; 7, 46; 7, 736; Juv. 6, 215.

22, 9. *postquam* magis profecerat. Tacitus has *postquam* 28 times with the pluperfect indicative. This shows the result of the influence of Sallust, who has the same construction six times in the Jugurtha. See Draeger, H. S. II 589.

22, 20. *sit in apparatu et aurum et gemmae.* A verb in the singular with two subjects differing in person or number connected by *et—et* is extremely rare, e. g. Cic. ad Att. 4, 18, 5 (17, 3) 'quem quidem abs te, cum dies venerit, et ego et Cicero meus flagitabit.' Servius ad Aen. 6, 473 'de hoc sermone quaerit et Probus et alii.' It is, however, not uncommon when both nouns are in the singular. Of this we have noticed about 80 instances, chiefly in Cicero's Epistles, Livy, Seneca and Pliny the Younger. In some instances the verb is placed between the subjects so that the number of the verb is influenced only by the first noun, e. g. Cicero ad Fam. 9, 13, 2 'et amicitia movet et humanitas'; Pliny, Pan. 63 'et moderatio tua suasit et sanctitas'; Quint. 11, 3, 52 'qua et distinctio perit et affectus'; 12, 10, 1 'in omnibus his et ars est et artifex.'

In some of the instances one subject is accessory to the other, or else the two express phases of a general condition, e. g. ad Att. 2, 17, 1 'ne et opera et oleum philologiae nostrae perierit'; 4, 1, 5 'et frequentia et plausus . . . celebravit'; 9, 17, 2 'perutilis eius et opera et fidelitas esset'; ad Fam. 10, 22, 1 'mirifice et senatus et cuncta civitas delectata est'; Livy 1, 42, 3 'in eo bello et virtus et fortuna enituit'; 7, 30, 8 'spondet et v. et f.'; 31, 9, 8 'et res et auctor movebat'; Sen. Dial. 7, 1, 4 'et causa et auctor est'; Pliny, Ep. 3, 9, 8 'cuius et magnitudo et utilitas visa est postulare'; Quint. 11, 1, 43 'facit enim et fortuna discriminem et potestas'; Hor. Sat. 1, 6, 93 'discrepat istis et vox et ratio.' As will be seen by the examples given, abstract nouns are the subjects in most instances, and these were not regarded as distinct entities. There are, however, a number of examples in which this is not the case, and in which the singular verb is used the same as if *et—et* were not used: ad Att. 16, 1, 6 'egit autem et pater et filius'; ad Fam. 5, 7, 3 'sicut et mea natura et nostra amicitia postulat'; 10, 33, 1 'nam et robur et suboles militum periit'; 11, 28, 4 'nisi et ante acta vita et reliqua mea spes tacente me probat'; 15, 5, 1 'quod et res publica et nostra amicitia hortatur'; N. D. 2,

66, 165 'multos praeterea et nostra civitas et Graecia tulit singulares viros'; Sen. N. Q. 1, 6, 4 'pro me est et repentina eius facies et repentinus interitus'; 6, 26, 3 'sed movetur et Aegyptus et Delos'; Pliny, Ep. 2, 14, 14 'et utilitas amicorum et ratio aetatis moratur'; 4, 9, 11 'et dicentis calor et audientis intentio continuatione servatur'; ad Trai. 23, 2 'et dignitas civitatis et saeculi tui nitor postulat'; Justinus 14, 5, 10 'et Eurydice et rex occiditur'; Stat. Silv. 4, 2, 9 'nectat adoratas et Smyrna et Mantua lauros.'

A singular verb with three subjects connected by *et—et—et* is occasionally found: Cic. ad Fam. 4, 13, 3 'quibus et natura me et voluntas et consuetudo assuefecerat'; de Pet. Cons. 11, 42 'cuius et frons et vultus et sermo . . . accommodandus est'; Sen. de Benef. 5, 19, 6 'prodest enim et animal et lapis et herba, nec tamen beneficium dant.' In this the subjects are first kept distinct in thought and then considered as plural; 7, 14, 3 'si et prudentia et industria et fortitudo muneribus suis functa est'; Cic. ad Fam. 16, 17, 1 'nam et doctrina et domus et ars et ager etiam fidelis dici potest.' We are able to quote only a few examples in which the subjects are not unmodified words: Cic. ad Att. 12, 33, 2 'sed et paedagogi probitas et medici assiduitas et tota domus in omni genere diligens me . . . vetat'; Cic. Cat. 2, 2, 3 'idque a me et mos maiorum et huius imperii severitas et res publica postulabat'; Pliny, Ep. ad Trai. 12, 1 'hortatur et natalium splendor et summa integritas in paupertate et ante omnia felicitas temporum'; Servius ad Aen. 12, 225 'cuius auctoritatem commendabat et origo maiorum et paterna virtus et propria fortitudo'; Cic. ad Att. 3, 11, 1 'me et tuae litterae et quidam boni nuntii, non optimis tamen auctoribus, et expectatio vestrarum litterarum et quod tibi ita placuerat adhuc Thessalonicae tenebat.'

42, 6. *ego te . . . Messalla . . . criminabimur.* Draeger, H. S. I 174, §101, quotes Livy 1, 6 'Palatum Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum tempa capiunt' as the first example of a plural predicate with two distinct subjects in adversative clauses. See, however, Cic. ad Att. 15, 9, 1 'ut Brutus in Asia, Cassius in Sicilia frumentum emendum . . . curarent.' For other examples not cited by him see Curt. 5, 13, 18 'Nabarzanes Hyrcaniam, Bessus Bactra . . . petebant'; Suet. Jul. 36 'P. Dolabella classem . . . CN. Domitius Calvinus in Ponto exercitum amiserunt'; Just. 13, 4, 15 'Cariam Cassander, Lydiam Menander sortiuntur'; 15, 4, 24 'Seleucus Demetrio, Ptolemaeus Lysimacho iunguntur.'

23, 15. *valetudo*, meaning good health. With this meaning *valetudo* occurs once in Tac. and twice in Quintilian. With

Cicero it may mean either good or poor health, see Peterson, *Quint. Intr.*, p. xliv. In *de Finibus* it is freely used, meaning good health. We have noticed the following in *Seneca*: *Dial.* 5, 5, 1 'firmitas corporis et diligens valetudinis cura'; 7, 21, 1; *de Clem.* 1, 19, 7; *Ep.* 15, 2; 76, 12 'si quis omnia alia habeat, valetudinem, divitias, imagines multas . . .'; 95, 58 'rerum commodarum possessio . . . valetudo, vires, forma . . .'; 106, 5; 107, 7; 117, 8 'si valetudo indifferens est bene valere indifferens est.' Cf. *Dial.* 3, 6, 2 'valetudinem . . . firmare'; 5, 8, 2 'valetudini profuit.' *Fronto* also has a few cases, e. g. p. 47 N.; p. 81 (XV 30, 2).

24, 15. *effici ratio temporum* collegerit. Cf. *Pliny*, *N. H.* 2, 88 'Aegyptia ratio . . . patere colligit.' *Ratio* is used in about the same way *Suet. Cal.* 8 'Plinium arguit ratio temporum.'

26, 4. *tinnitus Gallionis*. *tinnitus* 'jingling style' is  $\ddot{\alpha}\pi.$   $\epsilon\lambda\mu.$ , but its analogue *tinnulus* occurs in *Hieron.*, *Ep.* 143, 2 'tinnula verba,' and *Fronto*, p. 156 N. 'graviores sententias apud Annaeum . . . neque ita cordaces . . . neque ita tinnulas.' Cf. *Quint.* 2, 3, 9 'nam tumidos, et corruptos, et tinnulos et quocunque alio cacozeliae genere peccantes.' (Cited by Peter ad loc. III 3, 9.)

26, 17. *vis* and *sanguis* are not always used as synonyms. *Livy* 10, 35, 11 'nec virium quicquam nec sanguinis'; 25, 14, 9 'quos vires, sanguis desereret'; *Sen. Ep.* 24, 8 'cum minus sanguinis haberet, minus virium, animi idem'; 84, 6 'in vires et in sanguinem transeunt'; *Ovid, Met.* 7, 859 'fugiunt cum sanguine vires.'

28, 7. *primum . . . mox*. This correlation occurs five times in *Quintilian*, 45 times in *Tacitus*, and a few times, e. g., in *Livy* and *Pliny's Ep.* It seems to be relatively the most frequently used in *Justinus* (19 times) and *Velleius* (12 times, including 2, 102 'prima parte . . . mox').

28, 12. *circa educandos formandosque liberos . . . in gremio ac sinu matris educabatur*. *Varro*, as cited by *Nonius*, s. v., confines physical training to the nurse: 'educit obstetrix, educat nutrix, instituit paedagogus, docet magister.' This distinction was not always observed, e. g. *Suet. Aug.* 48 'liberos et educavit simul cum suis et instituit'; *Titus* 2 'educatus in aula cum Britannico simul, ac paribus disciplinis et apud eosdem magistros institutus.'

*Educare* is occasionally used elsewhere of physical education. *Livy* 1, 4, 7 'Larentiae uxori educandos datos'; *Sen. N. Q.* 3, 27, 2 'quantis laboribus tener educatur'; *Quint. 10, 1, 10* 'infantes a

mutis nutricibus . . . educati'; Suet. Aug. 94 'senatum exterritum censuisse ne quis illo anno genitus educaretur'; Justinus 1, 4, 13 'pro filio pastoris educatur. Nutrici postea nomen Spaco fuit'; Arnob. adv. Nat. 5, 13 'lacte infans educatus hirquino est.' See Funck, Archiv, VII 82-3. To the references given by him (p. 95) of *parvuli* (c. 29, 7), add Justinus 1, 4, 13 'permutata sorte parvulorum'; 23, 2, 6; 2, 9; 43, 2, 6; Servius ad Aen. 11, 537 'quae coepta a parvulis (Thilo),' an incorrect quotation of Terence, And. 3, 3, 6.

28, 23. Educationibus. The plural of *educatio* occurs Ann. 3, 25 and Macr. Sat. 1, 7, 25 'educationes et omnium . . . fertilium tribuunt disciplinas.'

30, 1 in quibus et ipsis; 37, 15 quae et ipsa. *Et ipse* 'likewise, equally' is used ten times by Tacitus, only once with the relative: H. 1, 42 'de quo et ipso.' With the relative pronoun *et ipse* occurs a few times in Livy (4, 9, 4; 5, 25, 7; 7, 32, 11; 9, 40, 18; 10, 30, 6; 21, 23, 5; 29, 6, 1; 44, 5, 10; 45, 38, 12). Seneca does not use it freely (Apocol. 4, 2; Ep. 90, 6), though it is quite common in Pliny, N. H. (3, 54; 10, 31; 11, 90; 12, 47; 15, 43; 108; et al.), and is found in Pliny, Ep. (3, 9, 20; 4, 22, 5; ad Trai. 59). Quintilian has it at least a dozen times (e. g. 1, 4, 9; 1, 7, 24; 2, 5, 23), Suetonius half as many (e. g. Aug. 43, 89, 97). It is used freely by the Scriptores Hist. Aug., and instances of its use are scattered through a number of other writers.

With other words it is used most freely by Livy. Weissenborn ad Livy 21, 17, 7 refers to four other instances in book XXI. Curtius follows Livy. In Pliny the Elder the occurrences are most noticeable in books 16 and 35. Freely used in Suet., in the Scrip. Hist. Aug., *et ipse* is one of the marked features of the style, especially of Capitolinus.

30, 13. suae eloquentiae velut quandam educationem refert. Cf. Cic. de Fin. 5, 14, 39 'earum etiam rerum, quas terra gignit, educatio quaedam et perfectio est non dissimilis animantium.'

30, 4. rhetoras. This Greek acc. plural is not common in Latin. It is found here, c. 35, 13, and in a Senatus consultum quoted by Suet. Rhet. 1, and Gell. 15, 11, 2. It is also found Sen. Rhet. Suas. 2, 12; Contr. 7, 19, 8; Martial 5, 56, 3; Macr. Sat. 4, 4, 17; 19; 4, 6, 13; 5, 2, 1; Quint. 11, 3, 58 'nam Cicero illos ex Lycia et Caria rhetoras paene cantare in epilogis dixit.' (Cf. Cic. Orat. 18, 57 'e Phrygia et Caria rhetorum epilogus paene canticum.')

30, 18. Achaiam quoque et Asiam peragrasse. According to Cicero's own testimony (Brut. 91, 315), he studied only at Athens in Greece proper. Sen. Rhet. has about the same statement: Suas. 6, 11 'Siciliam dixit vindicatam . . . Ciliciam . . . administratam, familiares studiis eius et Achaiam et Asiam.' The explanation is historical—the extension to Greece of the name of the province Achaia. Livy frequently has *Asia* and *Graecia* coupled, but later *Achaia* took the place of *Graecia*. Velleius 2, 23, 3 'maior pars nobilitatis ad Sullam in Achaiam ac deinde post in Asiam perfugit. Sulla interim . . . circa Athenas . . . dimicavit'; Tac. Ann. 5, 10 'Asia et Achaia exterritae sunt.' The account following shows that 'Piraeum Atticae orae' (l. 14) was considered as part of Achaia. Suet. Nero 22 'Achaiam . . . petit.' The account of his return 25 has 'reversus e Graecia.' Pliny, Ep. 8, 24, 2 'in provinciam Achaiam illam veram et meram Graeciam.' For the arrangement of words cf. Suet. Tib. 6 'per Siciliam quoque et per Achaiam circumductus.'

31, 2. *opus esse ut.* Ann. 3, 69 'expedire ut.' Draeger suggests that *ut* is used with *expedire* to avoid the dependence of one infinitive on another. The Dial. has *opus esse ut* for the same reason. Tacitus does not seem to have serious objections to such dependence. Cf. H. 1, 11, 2 'ita visum expedire, provinciam . . . retinere.' For other examples of *opus est ut* not cited by Draeger, II 273, see Ter. Phor. 204 'opus est nunc quom maxime ut sis, Antipho.' For exx. in late Latin, see Just. Inst. 2, 19, 2; 4, 7, 1; 4, 17, 3; 2, 23, 2 'sciendum est opus esse, ut aliquis . . . heres instituatur.'

32, 1. *sufficere ut.* To the examples cited by Draeger, H. S. II 272, add Sen. de Benef. 2, 34, 2 'non sufficimus, ut singulis singula adsignemus'; Pliny, Pan. 30 'sufficiat ut scias'; Servius ad Aen. 8, 515 'significat nondum eum sufficere, ut intellegatur, quid nolit.'

32, 11. *armis instructus . . . artibus armatus.* Cf. c. 5, 21 *artem* *qua armatus.* The apparent shifting of terms is for rhetorical effect, and smacks of the style of Gorgias.

32, 14. *pudenda* as an adjective is used seven times by Tacitus. It is found a few times in Pliny, N. H.; e. g. 7, 149; 33, 50; Pliny, Ep. 5, 13, 9; Pan. 54; Quint. 6, 4, 7 'pudendum dictu.' Cf. Tac. H. 2, 61, 1.

34, 4. *principem in civitate locum obtinebat.* For parallel examples in which *princeps* does not refer to official position, see

Suet. Aug. 51 'principem etiam in civitate locum tenere'; de Gram. 23 'p. locum . . . tenuit'; Fronto, p. 200 N. 'qui nunc fori principem locum occupant.'

35, 6. Non facile dixerim. These expressions are most common in Cicero and Tacitus, and used with some freedom by Pliny and Seneca; e. g. Pliny, N. H. P. 28; 2, 6; 9, 183; 33, 9; 35, 10; 36, 50; Sen. Dial. 10, 12, 7; de Benef. 1, 1, 3; Ep. 82, 9; 88, 46; 94, 41.

35, 15. pueris . . . robustioribus. Cf. Pliny, Ep. Trai. 96, 2 'teneri nihil a robustioribus differant.'

36, 5 composita et quieta et beata re publica; 41, 2 compositae civitatis. Tac. Ann. 4, 1 'compositae rei publicae.' Cf. Cic. de Legg. 3, 42 'composita et constituta re publica'; 2, 11 'vitam . . . quietam et beatam.'

36, 32. quo modo . . . sic contra. The statement of Draeger, H. S. II 632, 3, 4, does not hold good for the works of Seneca, who freely uses both *quomodo* and *quem ad modum*, e. g. de Benef.: *quomodo* 2, 23, 1; 4, 27, 5; 5, 8, 2; 5, 13, 4; 5, 15, 1; 6, 6, 3; 6, 8, 1 (17 exx.); *quem ad modum* 3, 22, 1; 6, 11, 4 (25 exx.).

36, 34. mutum et elinguem. For examples of the reverse order see Arnob. adv. Nat. 2, 24; 5, 40.

37, 2. clientulorum. This reading is also given for Tac. Ann. 12, 36 'incidentibus regiis clientulis.' In this passage the diminutive form is hardly in keeping with the display on that occasion, nor is the diminutive a form freely used by Tacitus. The Tac. Lex. gives nine for the Dialogus: *adulescentulus*, *ancilla*, *clientulus*, *codicillus*, *formula*, *libellus*, *oratiuncula*, *parvulus* and *quantulus*. Tacitus has these except *form.* and *orat.*, and adds but five more: *castellum*, *lecticula*, *lectulus*, *muliercula* and *lenunculus*, which is the only one not in common use. In this respect the usage of Tacitus widely differs from that of Pliny the Younger. See Lagergren, p. 72.

37, 33. *proeliator* is a rare word, e. g. Tac. Ann. 2, 73 and twice in Am. Marcell. 19, 7, 8; 23, 5, 24 'p. miles.' *pugnator* is equally rare. To exx. given in Harpers' Lex. add Am. Marcell. 29, 5, 39.

40, 1. datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi. This evidently refers to the attacks made on leading politicians by Roman orators. *Ius*, though not an official right conferred, was a recognized right. Tacitus, Ann. 2, 30 'certabant (sc. accusatores) cui ius perorandi in reum daretur' indicates official recognition given. Cf. Pliny, Ep. ad Trai. 31, 1 'cum ius mihi dederis

referendi ad te de quibus dubito'; Sen. Dial. 5, 13, 3 'nisi ius amicis obiurgandi se dedisset.'

40, 11. *incitamentum* is used fourteen times by Tacitus, who also uses it of persons. It is also found Sen. Ep. 64, 9; Curt. 4, 14, 1; 8, 14, 11; 3, 11, 7 'Dareus curru sublimis eminebat et suis ad se tuendum et hostibus ad incessendum ingens incitamentum'; 9, 5, 6 'desperatio, magnum ad honeste moriendum incitamentum.'

41, 19. *obviam periclitantibus eat*. *Obviam ire* generally has a hostile signification. In Tac. it is used a few times, as in H. 4, 46 (timori), Ann. 4, 6 (infecunditati), 13, 5 (dedecori), indicating hostility to an evil. The verb has the usual hostile connotation, but the enemy is not a person, but an abstraction, and good results come as a result of antagonism to the evil. With objects of this kind the words are not infrequently used. Sall. J. 5, 1 (superbiae nobilitatis); 14, 25 (iniuriae); 31, 4 (factionis potentiae); 42, 1 (Gracchorum actionibus); Livy, e. g. 3, 35, 7 (cupiditati); 3, 37, 8; 3, 59, 4; 4, 2, 11; Sen. Dial. 6, 1, 1 (dolori); 9, 11, 1 (fortunae); de Clem. 1, 25, 4 'evadere pusilla mala, ingentibus obviam itur'; Gell. 5, 10, 11; 6, 3, 42.

36-40, 8. This section stands between parts spoken by Messalla and Maternus without any MS indication of the dividing line between the two. It has been assigned by critics to Maternus, to Messalla and to Secundus. If not spoken by Maternus there must be a second lacuna ad 40, 8 of which the MSS do not give any indications. The question is discussed at length by Gudeman (Proleg. lxxv seqq.). Messalla is rejected because the subjects discussed in this section differ from those discussed by Messalla. The claim for Maternus is rejected because the statements conflict with other statements of Maternus. The argument for Secundus is based on artistic considerations in connection with the statements 1, 15 'cum singuli . . . causas adferrent' and 16, 8 'pro duobus promitto: nam et ego et Secundus exsequemur eas partes.' In the first statement neither *singuli* nor *causas* necessarily implies that all took a part. It was made before the introduction of the speakers, and merely asserts that the writer is to set forth individual opinions. If *causas* is taken in the exact meaning as discussed by Messalla, then Aper and Maternus are excluded from any connection with the essential part of the discussion, and the writer's method is decidedly faulty in giving half his work to questions outside of his expressed subject.

The promise made by Maternus (c. 16, 8) does not strengthen the plea for Secundus. For Messalla, in accordance with the

terms implied in the promise of Maternus, says: 'sunt aliae causae, magnae et graves, quas vobis aperiri aequum est, quoniam quidem ego iam meum munus explevi' (32, 30). Maternus, contrary to his promise, refuses to do so, asks him to proceed, and Aper and Secundus, as if both now stood in the same relation to the conduct of the dialogue, nodded their assent, thus leaving the field clear for Messalla.

In favor of Secundus are urged two artistic considerations—the manner of his introduction and characterization on a perfect equality with Aper, and that it would be unworthy of a literary artist to represent Messalla as giving all the causes of the decline of oratory.

The introduction of Aper and Secundus together well illustrates the fundamental stylistic feature of the *Dialogus*—the duplication of parts. In scores of passages proper names are presented in pairs, and similar arrangements of other words are counted by the hundred. Their characterization imitates Cicero's characterization of Antonius and Crassus. The characterization of this pair simply introduces them as one of the three types of activity represented in the *Dialogus*—the forensic, the poetic and the oratorical. To present Secundus and Aper as types of the forensic, and then represent Aper as true to his type and Secundus as spokesman for the oratorical type, is to violate the conditions implied in the introduction. Aper speaks as the representative of the forensic type, and the development of the *Dialogus* shows that the discussion of oratorical questions was reserved for the orator Messalla alone.

Throughout the *Dialogus*, Secundus is consistently subordinated to the other speakers, while their attitude toward Messalla is far different. The implied advice of Secundus to Maternus (c. 3) is rejected by him. Invited to act as judge of the discussion (c. 4), he declines. C. 15 Messalla is represented as frequently considering the causes of oratorical decline, and in contrast with others the similar decline in Greece had only enhanced for him the value of the investigation into the causes of the decline. Secundus assures him that the man best fitted for the task was himself: 'ad cuius summam eruditonem et praestantissimum ingenium cura quoque et meditatio accessit (16, 2).' Aper then speaks; Messalla follows, and gives a bird's-eye view of Roman orators (67 lines). Maternus interrupts and calls for the causes. Messalla then discusses some educational methods (146 lines), merely stating facts

well known to the rest. As already shown, he closes his remarks; the others do not take up the discussion, but give way to him, and he *quasi rursus incipiens* has 68 lines. He had indicated the fact of the decline, had discussed educational methods in the earliest stages and in the education of young men. The next section discusses the third phase of the question: the effect or education furnished by political conditions. It stands in the same relation to the other two as they stand to each other—not the same in substance, but forming with them an organic unit. This is by far the most important part of the discussion, and it alone touches the *magna causae* underlying the decline. This most important part could not have been assigned to Maternus, for it would not be proper to represent him as giving way to Messalla, repeatedly urging him to give causes, and then giving the most important cause himself. For the same reason it cannot be assigned to Secundus, for it would be out of harmony with his own statements about the superior qualifications of Messalla for the task and with the subordinate position assigned to him throughout the *Dialogus*. It is only to Messalla that we can assign this part, which rounds out the argument of Messalla, justifies the judgment of Secundus, and rewards the repeated efforts of Maternus to get a complete statement of causes, explains why Messalla and not Secundus spoke in the last chapter of the attack made by Maternus on the views of the preceding speaker, and why Secundus was not included in the final statement of the dialogue.

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#### IV.—YASNA XLVI.

My dear and venerated friend, the late lamented Professor R. von Roth, of Tuebingen, used to say that he preferred a free translation of metrical matter to a literal one (it being always understood that the texts had been exhaustively examined by the translator beforehand, and explained in so far as he possessed the opportunity and the power). His reason was the obvious one that free rendering leaves no room for pretexts which might cover up the translation's uncertainty as to what was in reality the ancient author's point.

The essence of an idea cannot be given without an emphasis, and that so unmistakable that it excludes all that may be equivocal; the translator must say what he thinks his author meant, or he might quite as well say nothing whatsoever at all. A rhythm also is to the last degree desirable, for, as writers who use it well know, it helps to express the sentiment of what is said. For this reason I have taken the advice of a friend well versed in literary composition,<sup>1</sup> and I have printed some pieces of free rendering of the Gâthas in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.<sup>2</sup> I here offer another, which, my friends will be assured, has only been made after the closest examination and reproduction of all the texts that are extant and relevant, completed with all the patience and energy that I could command during the course of many years.<sup>3</sup> I give this fragment here also because it contains my latest views, for, as all critics know, one's views on these most difficult compositions seldom reach a stage at which they may not be in some particulars still further changed for the better.

Zarathushtra (Zoroaster), a princely priest living in ancient Bactria, is engaged defensively and offensively in carrying through a campaign in what must have been pretty nearly a religious civil

<sup>1</sup> See the *Times of India*, Sept. 24, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1895, and also for October.

<sup>3</sup> See 'The Five Zarathushtrian Gâthas, with the Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit and Persian texts, translations and commentary, by L. H. Mills, D. D. Pp. 622 + xxx. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1892-94.' 30/. See also the Festgruss to Professor R. von Roth, where, at p. 193, I have given a Sanskrit translation of Yasna XXVIII, for which I received the special thanks of the venerable scholar.

war. Not so much moved by a poet's inspiration as by fierce passions and anxious political interest, he gives expressions to fears, hopes, and appeals which are called for by the situation; and collecting bits which he had often doubtless recited to his immediate comrades, he weaves them into a whole, to be delivered at some meeting of the tribes who were from time to time grouped about their leaders to confer. Doubtless much of this production, as it was originally chanted, has been lost; but what remains of it seems to me to be graphic; and it even casts some oblique light on history. The metre is practically *Trishṭup*, one of the oldest metres of the *Rig Veda* prevailing in the *Vasishṭha* Hymns, and this of itself affords a strong proof of the remote antiquity of the strophes.

I discard here all attempt at a mechanical reproduction of the numbered syllables as not being adapted to English, endeavouring only to preserve a rhythm, for I have given a specimen of an exact imitation in the periodical quoted above. Here, as in those other pieces, I often allow the accent perhaps an unusual value, as rendering a word of fewer syllables equal to one much longer, or to two; and even the natural cadence, where it is deepened by feeling, seems to me to claim a similar concession. The reader can easily see that *Yasna XLVI* describes (by inference) a chequered but not a broken career. Reverses have been experienced and ground lost, but the poet-prince determines on a rally, and endeavours to encourage his friends by promises, while he intimidates his opponents by threats.

YASNA XLVI.  
A HYMN OF ZOROASTER.

*De profundis*

1. To what land shall I turn? where with my ritual go?<sup>1</sup>  
Of kinsmen, allies, or the mass  
None to content their service offer me,  
Nor have they yet who rule the province, evil,  
How then to please Thee, Mazda, Lord!<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The later Zoroastrianism not inaptly takes these words, which have become sacrosanct, as the first chant of every departed soul. It (the soul) takes its place near the head of the deceased and utters them.

<sup>2</sup> His innovations, while they help to compact his party, just in that proportion infuriate his opposition.

2. This know I Mazda wherefore foiled I wander  
 My flocks so small,<sup>1</sup> and following so feeble ;  
 To Thee in grief I cry, behold it, Master,  
 Thy grace vouchsafing me, as friend bestows on friend,  
 Showing with pureness Thy Good Mind's riches best.

*hope*

3. When come Ahura, they the days' light-givers,  
 Stay of Thy people's Law, and onwards pressing,  
 Wise planning Saviours they with potent teaching ?  
 To whom for help comes too the Good Mind's server ?  
 Thee for my teacher Áhurá I seek.

*denunciations*

4. Who bear the Law these saints the faithless foeman<sup>2</sup>  
 From wealth of Herds doth hold with evil power ;  
 By his own deeds he cheats his folk of weal.  
 Who him from life and rule shall hurl expelling  
 Fields for the Kine with prospered skill he spreads.

5. He who as ruler helps not that assailant,  
 In our religion's creed and treaties faithful,  
 In the right living, may he, pure, to sinners,  
 Aright to prince with threat give warning,  
 "In rising crush them, O Mazda Lord !<sup>3</sup>

6. Who having power doth not thus approach him<sup>4</sup>  
 To the Lie-demon's home in chains will go ;  
 The wicked's friend is he and likewise wicked,  
 But righteous he who loves the righteous,  
 Since the primeval laws Thou gavest, Lord."

*the only help*

7. Whom then as guard to save us will they set me  
 When as his aim for harm the wicked marks ?  
 Whom have I then but Thee Thy Fire, and Meaning ?

<sup>1</sup> Flocks and herds were commissariat as well as property.

<sup>2</sup> The chief of the Daeva-party.

<sup>3</sup> See my Gâthas, p. 550, for alternatives to this most difficult verse ; see also The Sacred Books of the East, vol. XXXI, p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> "Approach him to warn, or approach *us* to help" ; see my Gâthas, p. 553.

By deeds of whom Thou shieldest Right, Ahura;  
To me this wonder-power for faith declare.

*revenge*

8. He who my settlements to harm hath given  
Ne'er may his burning wrath through deeds destroy.  
In hate to him come that which Weal opposeth,  
That to his body comes which holds from blessing,  
May nought from vengeful wrath deliver, Lord!

*contrast*

9. Who is the offerer who heeds me foremost  
How in our rites to praise Thee, well to be invoked?  
Pure for Thou art above us, great Ahura.  
What Thine through Right declared the Herds creator  
That seek Thy saints as my blest message, Lord.

*appeal and promise*

10. Who e'er, to me, be he or man, or woman,  
Our tribes gift gives which Thou the best perceivest,  
Prize for the holy gives with Good Mind's ruling,  
Whom, praising You, I urge as comrade leading,  
Forth to the Judge's Bridge<sup>1</sup> with all I go!

*a curse*

11. Karps,<sup>2</sup> yea, and Kavis<sup>2</sup> are with foul kings joining,  
Deeds which are evil with, man's life to slay;  
Cursed by their souls and selves, their being's nature,  
From Judgment's Bridge they fall, the final pathway  
In Demon's Home at last their bodies<sup>3</sup> lie!

*a brighter side*

12. When Right-inspired and 'midst Tura's<sup>4</sup> kinsmen  
Come from Fryana forth 'midst those illustrious  
They who Devotions lands with Zeal are helping  
With these together God through Good Mind dwelleth,  
To them in helpful grace commanding speaks.

<sup>1</sup> The Chinvat Bridge which extended from Mt. Alborj over Hell toward Heaven; to the infidels and sinners it becomes narrow so that they fall; but it becomes wide as nine javelins' length to the righteous (so the later Zoroastrianism).

<sup>2</sup> Hostile parties.

<sup>3</sup> Or 'their habitation is.'

<sup>4</sup> Border Turanian allies.

13. Who Zarathushtra gifts 'midst men vouchsafeth  
 Righteous is he himself 'midst men declared ;  
 Life upon him bestows the Lord Ahura,  
 Farms that are his promotes with Good Mind helping ;  
 Comrade for you through Right we think him meet.

*a voice from the throng<sup>1</sup>*

14. Whom hast Thou thus, O Zarathushtra righteous ?  
 Who seeks distinction in our holy toils ?  
 'Tis he himself heroic Vishtasp Kavâ<sup>2</sup> ;  
 Whom in the same abode Thou, Lord, shalt gather  
 These in the words of Good Mind I invoke !

*a group addressed*

15. To you I speak, O Haechad-aspâ, kinsmen,  
 Since things unlawful ye discern and lawful ;  
 By these your deeds ye help the holy State  
 With the primeval laws which Mazda gave !<sup>3</sup>

16. Come, Frashaostra thou with offerers, Hvogva !  
 With those we seek to bring this land's salvation ;  
 Come where Devotion blends with Holy Justice,<sup>4</sup>  
 Where lie the Realms desired of Good Mind,  
 Where God in His own might<sup>5</sup> abides,

17. Where I in holiest metre chant the doctrines ;<sup>6</sup>  
 Never the measureless profane<sup>4</sup> I'll utter ;  
 Praise with Obedience and with gifts I offer ;  
 Who severs keenly each the false and lawful  
 May He with wondrous<sup>7</sup> Holiness give heed !<sup>7</sup>

*rewards here*

18. Who sanctity to me concedes for blessing  
 Him of my wealth give I through Good Mind best ;

<sup>1</sup> Poetical conception, or, as in modern writings, a merely rhetorical expression.

<sup>2</sup> The King.

<sup>3</sup> A line is, curiously, missing here.

<sup>4</sup> Asha, or the sacrosanct Law.

<sup>5</sup> See my Gâthas, p. 561 : possibly 'in His chosen Home,' or 'citadel.'

<sup>6</sup> Metre sacred as in the Veda.

<sup>7</sup> See my Gâthas and S. B. E. XXXI at the place.

Griefs upon him I send who sends oppressions ;  
 Aright, O Lord, I seek your will to gladden,  
 This is mine understanding's choice and aim.

*and on high*

19. Who from the Right for me true welfare worketh,  
 For Zarathushtra help most wished and mighty,  
 Him give I the reward this earth beyond  
 With all mind-blessings gained through holy pasture;<sup>1</sup>  
 These teaching me, O Lord, art Thou most wise !

L. H. MILLS.

<sup>1</sup> Agriculture was sacred, for the best of reasons: the communities lived by it and desired to protect it from the more habitual raids of Turanians on the north and Daeva-worshippers on the south. This also explains the fierce enthusiasm of their religion which enshrined it. (The work on the Gâthas quoted above contains the literary apparatus and argument to my translation of them (the Gâthas) in *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXXI, 1887. It is likewise, of course, its sequel. Those who wish to familiarise themselves with texts written in Zend and Pahlavi characters should study the above works in connection with 'The ancient MS of the Yasna generally cited as J.<sup>2</sup> collotyped, with an introductory note by L. H. Mills, D. D. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1893. 10 guineas.' The Zend in this MS is translated in *S. B. E.* (Sacred Books) XXXI, and both the Zend and Pahlavi of the Gâtha-portion of it are translated in my Gâthas; the Pahlavi is also deciphered there and edited with the collation of all the known MSS.)

## V.—PLINY AND MAGIC.

It is a well-known and amusing fact that, notwithstanding the scorn and derision which Pliny heaps on the magicians, he gives many items that have made his book a most valuable repertory for the friends of ancient sorcery and folk-lore. And even now it is not superseded, although the discovery of magical papyri in Egypt<sup>1</sup> enables us to go back, in part at least, to the sources themselves. For two or three centuries separate these 'sorcerer's handbooks' from Pliny's age. We cannot believe that during this interval sorcery did not grow and develop. Yet, if we more accurately inquire into the relations between Pliny and these books, we are still able to find a close resemblance—nay, we may even make use of the Roman work to explain and elucidate the sorcerers' recipes. Dieterich, Wessely and Heim<sup>2</sup> have not failed to occasionally call our attention to this fact. I think, however, that a more searching examination will not be deemed superfluous.

One of the sorcerer's practical jokes consisted in bewitching his neighbor's cooking-range, so that no fire could be lit: *μάγειρον μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν πυρὰν ἀνάψαι· βοράνην ἀείζων θὲς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἑστίαν* (B. M. CXXI 171). The same extinguishing and cooling property of the plant is mentioned by Pliny: *vis est refrigerare et adstringere* (XXV 162); *igni sacro medetur aizoum* (XXVI 121). Against burns an application of *radices cyclamini cum aizoo* is used (XXVI 129). Clearly for the same reason the herb must be worn as an amulet in conjuring the sun (*κάτοχος τοῦ φωτός* 974): Par. 1082.

If an old woman was too fond of gossip and strong drink, the magician chopped some pine-wood and mixed it with her customary evening draught: *γραῦν μὴ τὰ πολλὰ λαλεῖν μήτε πολλὰ πίνειν*.

<sup>1</sup> Parthey, *Zwei griech. Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums*: Abhandl. Berl. Akad. 1865 (P I, P II); Leemanns, *Papyri Graeci Mus. Lugd.-Batav. II*, 1885 = Dieterich, *Papyrus Magica in Jahrb. f. Philol. Suppl. XVI* (V.) and Abraxas, Leipzig, 1893 (W.); Wessely, *Griech. Zauberpapyrus von Paris u. London in Wiener Denkschr. XXXVI* (Par.); idem, *Neue griech. Zauberpap.: Wiener Denkschr. XLII* = Kenyon, *Greek Pap. in the Brit. Mus.*, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> R. Heim, *Incantamenta magica*, in *Jahrb. f. Philol. Suppl. XIX*.

*πίτιν κόψας βάλε αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ κράμα* (B. M. CXXI 174). So Pliny tells that the kernels of the pine-cone quench thirst: *nuclei nucis pineae sitim sedant* (XXXII 142).

If you want to indulge in wine without getting drunk, you must eat a pig's roast lung: *πολλὰ πίνοντα μὴ μεθίειν· χοίρειον πνεύμονα ὀπτήσας φάγε* (B. M. CXXI 180). This revellers did in Pliny's time as well: *ebrietatem arcet pulmo apri aut suis assus, ieuni cibo sumptus eo die* (XXVIII 262).

He tells us (XXXIV 166) that leaden tablets were made use of ad cohibendum impetum Veneris. In the same way the magician of the fourth century, who wanted to prepare a *φιμωτικὸν καὶ ἵποτακτικὸν γενναιόν καὶ κάτοχος* (sic; the masculine is guarded by *κάτοχος* supra and *εἴδωλος* V 7, 24), inscribed his hocus-pocus on a leaden tablet made of a water-pipe (B. M. CXXI 405; Wessely, 1893, 10).

Several times in these papyri the celebrated plant *κατανάγκη* enters into a charm. These all distinctly refer to the Sun-god (B. M. CXXI 548, 1039; CXXII 74 ff.). The way to explain this connection is shown by Pliny (XXVII 57). Very scornfully he refuses to give particulars about a herb good only for love-charms. But he states at least the reason for this use: *electam ad hunc usum, quoniam arescens contrahat se in speciem unguium milvi.* The milvus or kite is a kind of hawk (*accipitris genus, λέπαξ* Greek), and the hawk, as is well known, was the sacred bird of the Sun-god (cp. Thompson, A Glossary of Greek Birds, s. v. *λέπαξ*).

B. M. CXXI 718 ff. give the recipe for an *ἀγρυπνητικὸν διὰ νυκτερίδος*, and some part of the same uncanny creature serves the same purpose in an *ἀγωγὴ ἀγρυπνητική* Par. 2943 and an *ἀγρυπνητικὸν* V 11, 27. With this we must compare Pliny, XXX 140 somnum arcet *vespertilionis caput aridum adalligatum*.

W. VI 26 ff. (Abraxas, 188, 2) we find a charm destined to make *μὴ ῥικνῶσαι ἄνδρα γυναῖκα ἢ ἄνδρα πρὸς γυναῖκα.* *λαβὼν ἀφόδευμα κυνὸς βάλε κατὰ τοῦ στροφέως τῆς θύρας αὐτῶν κτλ.* This effect was not confined to the solid excrements of a dog alone. At least: *qui in urinam canis suam egesserit dicitur ad venerem pigrior fieri* (Pliny, XXX 143; cp. XXIX 162).

Among the ingredients of a sacrifice by which an alleged thief shall be brought to confession, there is the tongue of a frog (Anastasy, XLVI 298, in Wessely I), if indeed *γλῶσσα βατράχου* is not, as other parts of animals in these books so often are,

simply the mystical name of some harmless plant (Dieterich, *Jahrb. Suppl. XVI* 781 ff.). This explanation, however, does not seem to hold, when we consider the 'Democritean' charm, preserved by Pliny, XXXII 49 *Democritus tradit, si quis extrahat ranae viventi linguam nulla alia corporis parte adhaerente, ipsaque dimissa in aquam, imponat supra cordis palpitationem mulieri dormienti, quaecumque interrogaverit vera responsuram.* About this curious recipe more will be said presently. It is true, the resemblance between this Democritean charm and the papyrus is not very striking. For in the latter the *γλῶσσα βαράχου* only comes in in the sacrifice while the thief will properly be detected by the 'bread and cheese' ordeal, which played an important part in finding out a witch during the middle ages (Tuchmann, *Mélusine*, IV 224 f.).<sup>1</sup> But as the principal object in both cases is to force the truth from an unwilling mouth, we may, after all, have the right to connect the two passages.

V 6, 27 an elaborate charm begins: the manufacture of a little ring for every business and good luck, which is *πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγεμόνας λίαν ἐνεργές*. The engraving must be made on an *ἴασπις ἀρίζων* (sic; cp. Dieterich, p. 826). Of this precious stone we read in Pliny (XXXVII 118): *hanc iaspidem, quarum quae e Persis venit ἀρίζοντα est, utilem esse contionantibus prodiderunt <magi sc. >*

But Pliny's work is not only a help in explaining the papyri: it may be used to advantage to vindicate the readings of the manuscript against the editors. V III 24 ff. we have the recipe of a magical ink, by the inventor Hemerios. The first ingredient of the mixture is *ἀνεμόνη φλογεῖτις*. Now, *φλογεῖτις* is the well-known name of a stone, and therefore does not seem to stand rightly as an attribute of a plant. For this reason Leemans changed *φλογεῖτος* to *φλογίης*, Dieterich to *τρωγλίτος*, after what he is pleased to call 'simillima μελανίου σκευή' in P I 243. Howbeit, among the seven ingredients there named, the only one in common with our prescription is *ἀρτεμισία μονόκλωνος*, all the others being different. Now, in accepting his alteration—he puts a comma after *ἀνεμόνης*—we certainly would destroy the holy

<sup>1</sup> For this purpose they used 'du pain d'orge et du fromage de brebis.' Similarly the papyrus prescribes *τυρὸν αἵγειν* 299. The bread, however, is made of *σελίγνιον* (cp. *siliquo*) 'wheat-flour.' 'Αρτος μικρὸς καὶ τυρὸς ἐν τῷ ἀρτῷ is the writing-material in an 'inscriptio in fures': cod. Vatic.-Palatinus, CXLVI, fol. 216 (sc. XVI, XV, XIV, Stevenson).

number 7, which to me seems a sufficient warrant for rejecting *τρωγλίτιδος*. No more do I approve of Leemans' conjecture. There seems to be no reason why *φλογίτης* should not be an adjective, formed from *φλόξ* as *σιδηρίτης* and the feminine *σιδηρίτης* are formed from *σιδηρος*. And the following passages from Pliny are more than sufficient to prove that, from whatever motives, there was a close relation between the flower and red color. XXI 164 he says that anemone has florem phoenicum aut purpureum. Wilamowitz, it is true, restricts *phoeniceus* to a dark red (Herakles<sup>2</sup>, II 210), as being derived from *φόνος*. But in XXI 165 we read: silvestris (a. sc.) flore phoenicio. hanc alii errore papaver putant. If this confusion with the poppy-flower was at all possible, surely the color must have been nearer to a bright red. Finally, in 166 he reports that the herb was put to many uses in sorcery, and that it must be handled with a red rag: iubent <magi sc. > adalligari florem panno russeo. I do not doubt, therefore, that *φλογείτιδος* henceforth will be safe from any critical attempts.

The most interesting instance, however, of the threads running from Pliny to these papyri is found in CXXI 419 as compared with XXIX 81. I print the two passages beside each other:

υγκολάλαμα (sic). λαβὼν κυκοφάτιον τὴν καρδίαν καὶ βάλε εἰς ζμύρναν καὶ γράφε εἰς πιττάκιον ἱερατικὸν τὰ δύνματα καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας καὶ ἔδιξον τὴν καρδίαν εἰς τὸ πιττάκιον καὶ ἐπίθες ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπερώτα καὶ πάντα τοι ὅμολογήσει.

magicae exemplum vanitatis, quippe praeter reliqua portentosa mendacia cor eius (bubonis) impositum mammae mulieris dormientis sinistram tradunt efficere ut omnia secreta prouuntiet.

That we have here essentially the same charm is manifest. Nor can there be any doubt that in Pliny its older and purer form has been preserved. I do not urge the point that this must be so because the Latin version is much shorter and lacks the spell of the Greek. For there is ample proof to show that in olden times, too, the efficacy of a magical action was increased by a 'rhyme' (cp. the examples in Heim's *Incantamenta Magica*, 507-12). But the complicated apparatus of the Greek text, with its ointment, sacred paper and abracadabra, does not look as if it were an original feature. Thus we have here one of the rare instances, where even our mutilated and fragmentary material permits us to see that there was no dull stagnation in magic, but a decided

development. One might object that the identity of the two passages is by no means certain, as the Greek has the hoopoe, while the Roman text in the corresponding place has the owl, and I might be referred to the quotation from Democritus (Plin. XXXII 149) which I mentioned above, in order to prove that diverse means were employed to the same end. Plausible as it seems, in our particular case the objection does not hold. For it can be shown that there was a very close relation between the hoopoe and the 'bubo.' The word *κυκοφάτιον* is, no doubt, equivalent to *κουκούφατον* (as *σῦχος* stands for *σοῦχος* V 7, 25), which itself must be a diminutive of *κουκούφας* 'hoopoe,' by some derived from the Egyptian.<sup>1</sup> In Hesych., however, we find the gloss *κοκκοθάρη γλαῦξ*, and the modern Greek name of the owl is *κουκούβαία*. Keller (in his Lateinische Etymologien, 111 ff.) connects the first part of this with a root meaning a dull sound, the same from which *κόκκυξ* also has sprung. And, indeed, if we think of the importance attached to the peculiar sound of the owl's and especially of the bubo's voice (cp. Schwarz, Menschen u. Tiere im Aberglauben, 25 ff.), this seems extremely probable. Nor need the  $\beta$  of the gloss and the modern Greek stand in our way, if we remember that, in Macedonia at least,  $\beta$  is regularly found instead of  $\phi$  (cp. *Βερενίκη*). We might therefore incline simply to see here one of those mistakes in translating which so frequently occur in Pliny, and restore the hoopoe to its place. But this, I fear, would be a very poor remedy. For as early as Epicharmus the hoopoe appears in company of the owl. Athenaeus (IX 391 d'), speaking about the *σκώψ*, quotes from Epicharmus: *σκῶπας ἐποπας γλαῦκας*. How does the *ἐποψ* come among the owls? As the hoopoe was probably not known to the Greeks before the fifth century (Oder, 545), there are only two possibilities: either *ἐποψ* originally was the name of some kind of owl and has only later been transferred to the hoopoe—this, however, in view of upupa, seems rather unlikely—or, granted that in Sicily the bird was known at this time, Epicharmus had reasons of his own to class it with the owls. If this be conceded—and I see no other way out of the difficulty—I have only one explanation to offer: there may have been a legend current that at certain periods the hoopoe appeared as an owl. Strange as this seems to us, especially as there is no

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch (Hier.-dem. Wörbch. IV 1441), with whom Oder (Rhein. Mus. XLIII 552) seems to agree. Vaniček (Etymol. Wörterbuch, I 161), however, compares Sanskr. *kukkubha*.

resemblance between the two birds, with perhaps the exception of the crest, it certainly could not seem improbable to a Greek, who firmly believed that the cuckoo during six months was seen as a hawk (*ἱέραξ*). And it cannot be chance that the hoopoe also was said to appear as a similar bird of prey, the *κίρκος* (cp. Aristotle *h. a.* IX 633 *a*, 17 = Aeschylus, *fgm.* 304 N<sup>2</sup>). For cuckoo and hoopoe appear as closely connected birds also in German folklore (*Der Kukuk und sein Küster, der Hopf*; see Grimm's *Mythology*, 681-2). Nor is it unimportant that these two birds are of an uncanny demoniacal nature. For the same holds good of owls in general, and more especially of the *bubo*. In all these cases, if Keller and Vaniček be right, the voice of the bird must have given rise to the belief connected with it. I can, however, only offer this as a mere hypothesis, in the hope that somebody better versed in bird-lore than myself may be able to supply the missing links. Under all circumstances, were it not for the parallel between Pliny and the papyrus, we would be absolutely unable to attempt a solution of the riddle offered by Epicharmus' enumeration.

There remains still one more apparent discrepancy between Pliny and the papyrus to be explained. According to the Roman naturalist, the charm must be applied to the left breast, while the Greek uses here the word *ψυχή*. That this means 'heart,' and that Pliny's expression likewise refers to this part, is made almost certain by the similar charm from Democritus, quoted above. In this the tongue of the frog must be put 'supra cordis palpitationem.' At first it appears strange that *ψυχή* should at all be used of some part of the body. The widespread belief, however, that the seat of the soul was in the heart, which, according to Cicero (*Tuscul.* I 19), was even the most common view, helps us to understand the transition. In fact, instances of *καρδία* being used, where we would expect soul, are too numerous to be quoted. But, on the other hand, the use of *ψυχή* for *καρδία* is rather singular. I have not been able to find any undoubted parallel. Nearest perhaps comes Pap. Par. 1522 ff. Here we read: *μὴ εἰσέλθης αὐτῆς διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων, μὴ διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν, μὴ διὰ τῶν ὀνύχων, μηδὲ διὰ τοῦ ὄμφαλοῦ, μηδὲ διὰ τῶν μελῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἔμμεινον αὐτῆς (sic) (διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ)<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ.* As the eyes

<sup>1</sup> The parentheses are mine. The words *διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ* seem not only ungrammatical, but also out of place. Probably *δ. τ. ψ.* was erroneously repeated, and then the *καὶ* added in order to give the phrase some meaning.

have been excluded, the *ψυχή* cannot be thought to be in them, although they were very frequently said to be the seat of the soul (Physiognom. ed. Förster passim; cp. the index), and although the eyes are the proper entrance-gate for love in Greek erotic tales (Rohde, Roman, 149, 2, 3). If we, furthermore, observe that the enumeration of the forbidden parts begins with the eyes and then steadily tends downwards, we will hardly think of the nostrils, to which otherwise the *ψυχή* would be very appropriate. The concluding words seem to prove that here, too, *ψυχή* stands for the heart itself, or, better perhaps, for the breast. In this case it would almost literally answer to Pliny's 'mamma sinistra.'

I have been unable to ascertain whether this use of *ψυχή* can be traced back, as we might suspect, to some one medical or philosophical sect. But it is interesting to quote in this connection Sophocles (El. 784 ff.):

ηδε γὰρ μείζων βλάβη  
ξύνοικος ἦν μοι, τούμὸν ἐκπίνουσ' ἀεὶ<sup>1</sup>  
ψυχῆς ἄκρατον αἷμα.

These desultory remarks, I hope, will serve to show that by carefully extending similar observations over the whole range of magical literature in comparison with the classical writers on natural history and medicine,<sup>1</sup> some light may be thrown on one of the sources of this most interesting branch of literature. For as yet there is absolutely no secure footing, if one wants to inquire into the history of the varied traditions on magic. And such comparison may, furthermore, enable us to come to a clearer understanding as to what, in all the miraculous and fabulous tales, really belongs to folklore and what has been handed down, even to Greeks and Romans, simply by learned tradition.

ERNST RIESS.

<sup>1</sup> As to medicine, I will give a chance example taken from Marcellus Empiricus. B. M. CXXI 182 πολλὰ βίνειν δίνασθαι· στροβίλα πεντήκοντα μετὰ δύο κνάθων γλυκέος καὶ κόκκοντς πεπέρεως τρίφας πιέ (cp. V, I 21 f.). Thus M. E. XXXIII 66 ut rebus veneriis aptus sis, piper tritum cum oleo et melle misce et, cum coire voles, verenda tibi inline; and XXXIII 35 nucleos pineos minutos purgatos numero XXX adiecto pauxillo croci simul tritos, si quis ex passi (γλυκέος) cyatho cotidie per dies IX continuos bibat, mire penis vitio celeriterque sanabitur.

## NOTES.

### STRAY GLEANINGS.

In the *Glossae Scaligeri* (= *Corpus Gloss. Lat. V* 593, 5) there appears a gloss *blato cubicularius hospitalarius* which has given no little trouble to the pioneer of glossography, Loewe. With his usual sagacity, he saw that it must be connected with the *blasto cuuicularius* of the *Sangallensis* 912 (= *Corpus Gloss. Lat. IV* 210, 26)—which is again met with, as far as I have been able to find out, only in the *Ambrosianus* (= *Corpus Gloss. Lat. IV* 585, 6) and in the *Liber Glossarum* (= *Corpus Gloss. Lat. V* 171, 47)—but his attempts to get at a correct understanding of this *blato—blasto* have been unsuccessful (cf. note to *Glossae Nominum* 312). I have had the lucky chance to come across the solution of the riddle: We find in *Acts* 12, 20 of the *Vulgata*, *persuaso Blasto qui erat super cubiculum regis*, whence it becomes evident that *blasto* (corrupted into *blato*) is ablative sg. of the proper name *Blastus*, the king's chief-chamberlain, and, it would seem, reference to him is again made in the above-mentioned No. 312 of the *Glossae Nominum*: *blatiarius primicularius byrdistrae saxonice*. That *primicularius* is a corruption of *primicubicularius* may be readily conceded to Loewe, but, then, it cannot be interpretation to *blatiarius*. Very likely the above *blasto* is the lemma of *primi[cubi]cularius*, so that we may have here a confusion of two glosses: 312<sup>a</sup> *blasto primicubicularius*, and 312<sup>b</sup> *blatiarius byrdistrae saxonice*.

If we are to believe Mr. Henry Sweet (Oldest English Texts, p. 584<sup>a</sup>) there is a plant 'ground-soap,' called *grund-sopa* in Anglo-Saxon. The evidence on which he bases this statement is his gloss 312 of the *Erfurt Glossary*, *cartilago grund suopa*. Now, if we look a little more closely, we find the gloss on record in the *Erfurt* (= *Corpus Gloss. Lat. V* 355, 24) this way: *cartilago. gg. grund suopa*. In the *Corpus Christi Glossary* (ed. Hessels), C 186, this appears as *cartilago grun<sup>a</sup>sopa*, and in the *Erfurt*<sup>2</sup> (*Amplonianus Secundus*) = *Corpus Gloss. Lat. V* 274, 35, as *cartilago grurzapa dicitur rusticae*. From the last-quoted

gloss it would seem evident that Mr. Sweet's supposed Anglo-Saxon *grundsofa* is in reality rustic Latin, and, in fact, as such it is exhibited by Loewe, *Prodromus*, p. 418, among his examples of rustic Latin, as preserved in the glossaries; but he points out, as a remarkable discrepancy, that the Vossianus, fol. 82, declares the word to be Greek: *cartilago grunzopa grece dicitur*, and so does the Erfurt (= Ampronianus Primus) we quoted above. For, that *ḡḡ.* stands for *graece* is, on the one hand, confirmed by the express testimony of the Vossianus, and, on the other hand, by such unmistakable examples of abbreviation as afforded by *cene* (= *καυή*, sc. *διαθήκη*) *ḡḡ. nouum* (sc. *testamentum*), C. Gl. L. V 349, 29, and *lanternum fanuum* (= *φανόν*) *ḡḡ.*, C. Gl. L. V 370, 16. We have then, it seems, two conflicting statements as to the nationality of *grurzapa* (*grunzopa*, *grundsofa*, *grundsuopa*): according to one it is rustic Latin, according to the other, Greek. Can they not be made to agree? I think there is a way for it. We find *cartilago* glossed by Greek *χόνδρος* (= *chondros*), C. Gl. L. III 403, 16. Now, if this was written *condros*, and then, as so often, *g* mistakenly put for *c* (in that way *gremium* and *cremum*, *grates* and *crates* are frequently confused), *gondros*, and later on, by obscuration of *o* to *u*, *gundros* may have arisen from *chondros* (*χόνδρος*), and this *gundros* may be disguised in that *grunds*, *grunz*, *grurz* of the first part of our gloss to which the glossator had reference when declaring the word to be Greek. The remainder of the gloss—*opa* (*apa*)—is then, I take it, the rustic Latin expression for *cartilago* to which the glossator of Ampronianus Secundus has reference when declaring the word to be Latin. The original reading of the gloss may then have been something like this: *cartilago grece chondros, opa (?) rustice dicitur*. *Chondrosopa* having been written as one word, and *graece* having dropped out in some copy, or being overlooked by the scribe, or intentionally left out by one who wished to correct the apparent discrepancy of a word being declared Greek and rustic Latin at the same time, this would account for a statement like that of Ampronianus<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, scribes like that of the Vossianus may have copied from a manuscript where the *rustice* was either intentionally left out or accidentally dropped, so that there the *graece* prevailed. However that may be, that much is certain, that there is no evidence for Anglo-Saxon *grundsofa*.

According to Mr. Sweet (Oldest English Texts, p. 644<sup>b</sup>), the Anglo-Saxon *cōc* = cook is already on record in the old Erfurt

Glossary, but if we examine the testimony he offers for his claim, we shall find it just as unfounded in fact as his *grundsofa*. The gloss he designates as No. 287 of the Erfurt is *coacas culinia* = C. Gl. L. V 354, 28, and he fixes a star to *coacas*, meaning that it is corrupted from *cocas*, which is on record in the *Corpus Christi Glossary* (ed. Hessels), C 953. This *cocas*, of course, he takes for the accusative plural of *cōc* = cook, but is not that quite a gratuitous assumption on his part? If manuscript evidence counts for anything, we certainly have to settle with the fact that in the Erfurt there is a *culinia coacas* which, on the face of it, cannot refer to a cook. For, to be sure, there is a *culina* meaning 'kitchen,' and it is just possible that there may have been a glossator stupid enough to mix up 'kitchen' with 'cooks,' and we might be inclined to take such a view of the case, if the Erfurt coincided with the reading of the *Corpus Christi cocas*. This being not the case, it would be contrary to every law of sound philological criticism, if we should undertake to correct *coacas* into *cocas* in order to make it fit in with a more than improbable meaning imputed to *cocas*. On the contrary, it is from *coacas* we have to start in order to do the gloss justice. What, then, may *culinia coacas* stand for? Comparing such glosses as C. Gl. L. II 575, 52 *culina fossa coquinantis* (= *coquinantis*) *uel quae-libet*; ibid. 118, 45 *culina αποπατος*; II 119, 50 *culina λοντρων*; 239, 37 *αποπατος culina recessum*; 252, 38 *αφεδρων culina*; 106, 45 *conclavis et culina αφεδρων αποβατος*; III 489, 10 = 508, 34 *αποπατος culina*; III 313, 37 *αποπατος culina*; II 522, 17 *culina sassatoria apouaton*; IV 326, 34 *culna latrina secessum*, and remembering that *αφεδρων* is the Septuagint word appearing Matth. 15, 17 and Marc. 7, 19 for the *secessus* of the Vulgate, we shall be justified in reading *cloacas* for *coacas* in the Erfurt Glossary and restore that also in the *Corpus Christi Glossary*. As to *culinia* and *culina*, I should say *culinia* is the better form, being shortened from *sterculinia* (*sterquilinia*), but *culina* may have obtained later on. Concerning *sterculinia*, plural of *sterculinium*, compare the following glosses: Corp. Gl. L. V 515, 49 *sterclinia scopiliarum* (sc. *acervus*); ibid. 515, 52 *sterquilinia scopiliarum ceruus* (= *acervus*). The singular is met with in the following glosses: C. Gl. L. V 245, 26 *sterquilinium scopiliarum aceruu*; ibid. 245, 27 *sterquilinium locus stercore plenus*. As to the shortening of *sterculinium* *sterculinia* compare C. Gl. L. V 530, 53 *adrem* (= *ad rem*) *ad cuniam* (= *ad pecuniam*); ibid. V 245, 27 *silanos*

*tubos* (i. e. *cubos* = *incubos*); *ibid.* IV 106, 11 *lacebra* (= *illecebra*) *seductio uel occulta blanditio*, which shortening gave then rise to the metathesis *caelebra* (= *lecebra*, *illecebra*) *uoluptas* and *lecerba* (= *lecebra*, *illecebra*) *seductio*; *ibid.* IV 360, 6; also *Lesia* (for *Elysia*) *paradisum* IV 533, 37 belongs here. How far these shortenings are based on actual usage or whether they are due to mere errors, I do not venture to decide here.

Kluge, in the fifth edition of his etymological dictionary, states that *Röss*, the now obsolete German word for honeycomb, is not on record in Old High German. It is, however, to be found among the Sedulius glosses (Steinmeyer-Sievers Althochd. Gloss. II 622, 1): *fauos razun.*

Of obscure origin is, according to the same author, the term for 'subtle exhalation,' *Duft*. But it would seem the word is connected with the Anglo-Saxon *þyfan* = to exhale, which we find in Wright-Wülker 230, 4 (5) *spiret aþyft, fetet uel stemp*; Mone 387, 42 *exaltauit ut aþyfle* = *exalauit ut aþyfle*; *ibid.* 333, 98 *anhelantium cursorum stencendra renula, þefendra.*

Hall (A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary for Students) could not make anything of what he found in Wright-Wülker 385, 3; so he bodily transferred the gloss *hofðelum descurris*; but we have only to divide properly *hof* = *of ðelum de scurris*, and it will be clear that we have to do here with the same word that Hall quotes as *þyle* sm. 'spokesman.' As to the etymology of the word, I think it belongs to the same root to which *þel* (*pell*) = board owes its origin, the orator as well as the jester being people who use the platform or stage as the place in which to perform their respective duties, may well have taken their name from that; but it is also possible that the speaker was called a *þele* (*þyle*), because he understood the art of handling the *þel*, i. e. speech—was, in fact, a *staefcraeftga*. This *þel* appears in the Wright-Wülker glosses several times as the interpretation of Latin *bractea*; hence it is evident that the *goldfel* we read W.-W. 358, 15 as interpretation of *bratheas* should be *goldþel*. *þ* and *f* are often hardly to be told from each other.

Sweet (Old. English Texts, p. 476\*) would make us believe that on the basis of Erf. 340 *horuaeg stiig deuia callis*, we have to assume an adjective *horweg* 'muddy'; but *horuaeg* is = *or-uaeg*, i. e. 'trackless,' German *un-weg-sam*.

According to Hall there is an Anglo-Saxon *fraene* 'oreae,' but Wright-Wülker 460, 4, from which he takes it, is Latin *frena*

*oreae* (= *aureae*). Just so what he quotes from the Haupt glosses (No. 496): *face* 'clasma' is Latin; *clasma pace* will have been the true reading, as is evident from *Corpus Gloss.* (ed. Hessel), C 460 *clasma pax turba*; *Mone* 409, 92 *clasina* (= *clasma*) *pace mal*; *W.-W.* 504, 27 *clasma mal*; *W.-W.* 376, 31 *clasma clam oððe wed oððe waera*. What the same Hall takes from *W.-W.* 515, 39 *wefæsten* 'castle' is in reality *swa swe faesten*, as is evident from the lemma *quasi arx*.

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER.

BOUE, BARBOTER, BARBOUILLER.

The derivation of these French words is still an open question, and the explanations thus far suggested are far from being satisfactory. It is intended to show here that a plausible solution may be found by determining a common etymology for these three words, and showing how, through regular phonetic process, they were evolved from the same root.

No reasonable etymon has yet been indicated for *boue*. Darmesteter (Dict. Univ.) declares its etymology to be unknown; Cohn does not mention the word; Körting, after Diez, proposes the Kymric root *baw*, but such a form could only give an *ø* in French. The Old French forms of the word are *boe*, later *boue* and also *broue*—the last, however, must not be allowed to complicate the question. It sprang up under the influence of *brouet*, that goes back to a Low Latin *brodum* or *brodium* (It. *brodo*, *broda*, *brodetto*), the meaning of the word being 'thick soup of a darkish color.' The cause of the contamination is therefore obvious.

*Boue*, I believe, originates from a Low Latin form *bota*. The word is found in Ducange as *botta*; but since the law in French is reduction of geminated consonants, *bota* must also have existed. This etymon is also suggested by Scheler: its meaning is that of *mare* in French, 'a stagnant pond or a puddle of water.' An instance quoted by Ducange goes far towards showing the close relation existing between the meaning of this word and that of 'mud': Liber Recognitionum servitiorum Domini: "Juxta fangiam de la Botta d'Ouraux."

The word *barboter* 'to splash in the water or in the mud' strengthens this opinion. *\*perbotare* can be logically admitted

from *bota* (the French form being apparently irregular on account of the preservation of the *t*; but this I hope to explain satisfactorily).

*Bota* would regularly give *boe* > *boue*, the *ou*-sound being retained for the same reason that it remains in *amour*, *époux*, *avoue*, etc., viz. on account of the labial consonant that precedes.

*Boue* gave birth to the verb *boer* or *bouer*, and a *y* was introduced for the purpose of breaking up the hiatus (cf. *badare* > *baer* > *bayer*). As for the addition of the prefix *per*, there is no need of explanation; and the initial *p* changed into *b* by a very simple assimilation—one, moreover, frequent in Low Latin (see Probi Appendix: *opobalsamum*, not *ababalsamum*; *plasta*, not *blasta*).

So the history of these forms would be the following:

*bota* > *boe* > *boue*  
 \**perbotare* > *parbouer* > *parbouyer* > *barbouyer*.

*Barbouyer* therefore meant 'to besmear with mud,' the literal meaning it has still in French; hence, 'to soil,' and also 'to speak confusedly.'

Now, in regard to the orthography *barbouiller* instead of *barbouyer*. We must bear in mind that it may be, after all, a mere graphic influence exerted either by the French form *bouillir* or the Italian *barbogliare*. I have not met with this word in the oldest French texts. The earliest example quoted by Littré is from Calvin, and it is very likely that already in Ile de France, at least, there was confusion between the two sounds of *y* and *î*, or rather that in this territory *î* had become *y*, and that we have to deal with another graphic representation of *y*.

Coming back to *barboter*, we understand now why the *t* was kept, viz. to establish a distinction between two words constantly used in popular speech. This explanation is a plausible one and clears up an otherwise very much confused question of etymology. It recommends itself to scholars in this respect, that it finds for popular words a popular source without making it necessary to account for them by analogies drawn from the completely evolved forms of a kindred language—an expedient always hazardous, to my mind.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

T. Lucreti Cari de rerum natura libri sex. Edidit ADOLPHUS BRIEGER. Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, MDCCCXCIV. 12mo, pp. lxxxiv, 206. m. 1.80.

For forty years in Germany Lucretius has been read and cited by the editions of Lachmann and Bernays, and, consequently, the numerous emendations made by Munro, as well as the criticisms of a long line of German scholars like Polle, Winckelmann, Hoerschelmann, Christ, not to mention Woltjer and other Dutchmen, have never been incorporated into a standard text. For, while Munro's edition has been for many years, and will continue to be, the standard edition for English-speaking people, it has had a limited circulation in Germany; although it is well known, and has even been translated, in France. Bockemüller's edition (Stade, 1874), with its unfortunate theory of composition, its rash emendations, violent transpositions and numerous errors, is practically unknown, except to professed Lucretian scholars. Hence, for Germany, at least, a new recension of Lucretius was much to be desired. Brieger for years has been the Lucretian contributor to the *Jahresbericht*, and previously to the publication of that important journal had contributed several articles to the *Philologus*; and he himself tells us that the present recension represents 38 years of continued study. Twenty years ago this edition was promised, and, moreover, it was to include an exegetical commentary, which is still to come. And when we consider that Munro gave practically his whole life to Lucretian study, one shrinks from the inevitable comparison of the work of two such men.

The prolegomena of 84 pages falls into two parts: the first third gives the general principles upon which the recension is made, and the remainder a detailed statement of the changes in the readings, with the authority therefor; for very many of the emendations were made by other scholars. Unfortunately, in the prolegomena the number of the book cited was not placed at the top of the page, so that reference back from the text to the appropriate passage of the prolegomena is difficult. But the prolegomena as a whole is the best index available for the numerous Lucretian contributions distributed since Lachmann through the philological literature of Germany and England.

Brieger's recension, like Munro's, is a continuation of the principles laid down by Lachmann. The two Leyden manuscripts are the foundation of the text. Lachmann was a man 'divini ingenii,' and Bernays' independence is justly praised. As for Munro 'ubi erravit, quod non raro accidit, ut homo venia dignus est.' Munro differs from Bernays in 355 places; he restored the MS reading against Lachmann in 155 places. Brieger underestimates Munro's knowledge of the philosophy; one part of the task was nearly finished by Lachmann, the other hardly begun, he says; and since Gassendi, no one has

explained the entire Epicurean physiology from the sources; and so, he continues, *more Germanico*, 'nihil relinquebatur nisi ut ipse quid in ea re efficere possem experiri.' We shall eagerly await his commentary. Munro's readings are occasionally misstated in the prolegomena, and numerous emendations are passed over without remark. The comments on some rejected readings are worthy of Lambinus and Gifanius: M. writes *perverso, parum eleganter, inepte*; it is pleasanter to read in other places *egregie, felici audacia*. It should be remembered that many of Brieger's readings were known to Munro; indeed, the great majority; for instance, *conexa* in II 268 is to Br. 'rectissime,' to M. 'absurd.'

In the orthography Brieger has done well to reject M.'s *vocaret* for *vacaret*, *lucunas, reprehendere, aliut, adque, ni* for *ne* (III 286), *taetro, frudi*; it is remarkable that he prints *voluntati* (abl.) II 270, *acuae* (even if it is trisyllabic in VI 576), and *duellum* IV 949—the last a most desirable correction. Following Lachmann, he continues to separate words like *nimirum, praeterquam*. He always prints *aëra* with the diaeresis, as he should, and joins *est* to the preceding word whenever possible, instead of following the MSS, as M. did, who made the juncture only when the MSS served as a precedent. In other matters, too, M. is more faithful to the codices, and Brieger's edition is worthless in fine matters of MSS reading. To illustrate, I 742 Br. has *quicquam*, M. *quicquam*; 752 *habebis, habebis*; 753 *veneno, veneno*; VI 244 *gignier, gignier*. But in punctuation, as a whole, Brieger is superior to M.; Munro, like Lachmann, wrote *nimis regie*, and scorned the assistance of the humble comma in too many places; indeed, his translation is nearly unreadable for that reason; yet when he wished to advocate a particularly devious and thorny interpretation, he is lavish with his points; Br. justly criticises his *conficit, franguntur, in artum, concreti* etc. VI 156. Br. has uniformly a closer pointing; a good example is I 106 sq. There are cases where the interpretation depends on the punctuation, as, for instance, IV 991, where Br. joins the *ibidem* with *tollunt*. But in the majority of places Brieger's additional pointing does not change the sense.

It appears that Lucretian editors have not that abhorrence of a vacuum sometimes attributed to nature. Lachmann indicates 12 lacunae, Bernays 16, Munro 29 and Brieger 70. We cannot feel that even Munro was right in finding so many chasms; and with Brieger, even more, the difficulty could have been met by emendation; as, for example, in II 381, where Br. keeps the *animi ratione* of the MSS, inferring a preceding gap, and rejecting L.'s *tali*, which was accepted by Munro. Sometimes Br. infers a lacuna and brackets it with the following verse, as in III 297-8. One cannot discuss all the many cases here; the one at I 915, where the defence is, doubtless, that *quod superest* is there un-Lucretian, I should reject decidedly; II 477, on the other hand, I should retain, and also the one at V 684. The bracketing of passages is also carried to a great extent, more than seems justified in the recension of an author. In the case of a poem confessedly so incomplete as the *De rerum natura*, the marking off of passages as interrupting the thought is really finishing the poet's work for him, and is but a degree removed from rewriting the poem. Such comments properly belong in the commentary; and the same remarks apply to transposition of passages, which is only to be applied

when the disturbance is due to the copyist and not to the poet. I can see, then, no justification for marking off verses 6-9 of the first book, nor for much of the shifting about in the 4th and 6th books.

Although a comparison of Brieger's text with Munro's shows changes on every page, yet Brieger is rather conservative than radical. Again and again he impales a word as corrupt, neither himself emending nor accepting the suggestions of others; so he prints *†speciem* I 315, *†videtur* II 422, *†sensu* II 810, *†suadet* III 84; I should add others to the list, like *par vis*, MS (partis, Br.), V 868, where M. reads *visque*, and, perhaps, *oris* VI 552 for *oras* of the MSS. He has repeatedly followed M. in restoring the MS reading against Lachmann, and the impression which, on the whole, he creates is that of one *pedetemptim progradientis*. As for the emendations differing from Munro's, which he has made or accepted, some are unquestionably good, others just as decidedly bad, and several doubtful—as might be expected in a work of such scope and difficulty. *Aves* for *ames* IV 1037, *tulit ut nequeat* (Bentley) 5, 823, *aetas* for *aestus* 5, 796, *repertas* for *reperta* V 1373, *fata* for *facta* V 1327, I should favor; but *gnatis* is flat in III 959; *cunctere* for *cunctare* VI 792, Lotze's *ex ea* IV 110, *Parium marmorique deorum* IV 79, and many more, have little to recommend them.

It was most unfortunate that Brieger, in the numbering of his lines, has not only introduced a new numbering of his own, but has also retained the numbering of Lachmann and Bernays: Brieger's figures are to the left, Lachmann's to the right, and Bernays to the left again in italic type; when the numbers agree, there is no difficulty, for then but one set is printed; but over in the fourth book, where each editor differs from the other, there results such an *aestus mentis* as Lucretius never dreamed of. Doubtless the large number of typographical or other errors is due to this confusion; in the prolegomena the quotation, while theoretically according to Br., is sometimes by Lm., sometimes by B., and sometimes by neither. More than once the editor substitutes in the prolegomena a new reading for that in the text, and critical notes are occasionally altogether omitted. For example, in IV 1101 the MSS have *unguenta*; Br. reads with Lachm. *argentum*; and, of course, having no critical note, does not notice M.'s *huic lenta*. The editor's intention was to state his variants from Lachmann and Bernays rather than to give all the MS readings, as Munro has done.

As this edition is a part of the Teubner Text Series and will probably be circulated for many years, I append a list of corrigenda: Page i, Munro edited L. first in 1860, not 1866 (misprint); xi, read 525 for 524, 284 for 282, 783 for 793; xvi, the numbers are by Lm.; xvii, by Br.; xviii, 741 add 723 Br.; xix, 755 add 748 Br., as the discussion is given by Brieger's numbering, VI 1057 should be 1067 Lm. or 1058 Br.; the references on p. xix are very puzzling; he cites by Lachmann VI 456, comparing *infra quae scribam*, i. e. 449 Br.; the next reference, I 50, is to Brieger again (here write *omnis—res*), and the second to Bernays IV 344, which should be 321 Lm. or 329 Br.; p. xx, I 189 is presumably to Lm. again, although the verse is 188 Lm. B., 182 Br., while the next is to Br. and a misprint as well: read I 443 for IV 443; IV 66 should be 60, IV 266 should be 267; xxi, 1030 should be 1024 Br. or 1028 Lm.; xxii, 135 should be 138, *imprimis* (cf. 4, 138) should be *in primis*; xxiii, 570-577 should

be 601-608 Br. or 577-584 Lm.; xxiv, 454 is Lm., change to 448 Br.; xxvii, V 1013 add Lm., for 524 read 525; VI 324 is Lm., add 320 Br.; 760 should be 761, 134 should be 129 Br. or 135 Lm.; xxviii, 488-503 should be 485-490 (487 sq. Lm.); xxxvii, VI 358 should be 348 Lm. or 344 Br.; xxxviii, add Lm. after 577-583; xxxix, III 1019 should be 1010; 778 should be 772, 869 should be 864; xl, 918 should be 913, 971 "*officiaque, quominus in officiatque* (Gryph. *Lugdunens.*) mutandum non esse docet Munro in ed. quarta." But Br. has in the text *efficiatque quo minu'*, which is the MSS reading, while Munro in ed. 4 prints and defends *officiat*; xli, 171 should be 169, 1097 should be 1069, *ipa* should be *ipsa*, 'fulget auroque Lm. Mr.' but Lm. reads *fulgenti*; perhaps Lm. here means Lambinus, who read *fulget*; xlii, 'vers. 69-79 etc.,' wholly unintelligible, unless 55-61 is meant; 103 should be 104; xlili, 'conexaque OQ' Lm. and M. give *conexa* as the reading, 395 should be 305, '724 . . . v. infra' there is no *infra*, as the verse is omitted by Br. in his text; xliv, add Lm. after 477; xlvi, 660 should be 680 and note should read 655-659, 680, 652 Lm.; xlvi, add Lm. after 825; xviii, 1001 sq. M. reads *effit ut omnes res ita*, not *efficit*, etc., as is stated, 1030 M. reads *nunc*, not *sint*; xl ix, M. reads *hic . . . abundans*, not as stated, 1116 M. claims *hic*, which is credited to Christ; insert Mr. after *evertere suader*; I, VI 1057 should be 1058; li, M. reads *expellitur*, not *pellitur*; lii, 442 should be 443, insert B. after *usque liqueficit*, insert Lm. after [474] or 510, and 475 before *et pariter*; liii, VI 812 should have Lm. added or be changed to 805; liv, M.'s reading is misquoted on 655; lvi, 875 should be 873, 909-95 should be 115; lvii, add Lm. to 127; lviii, 111 should be 110, 112 should be 111, insert Lm. after 129-140, insert Lm. with figures 97, 230, etc.; lix, VI 921-933 is unintelligible, perhaps it should be 923-935 Lm.; lx, 244 should be 254; lxi, 511 should be 512; lxii, 1143 should be 1141; lxiii, 776 Brg. should be 777; lxiv, I 236 should be III 201 (?), 862 should be 873; lxv, 914 should be 919, add Lm. after 1123; lxvi, VI 660 should be 539 Br. or 619 Lm., the note gives the impression that *sonora* was an emendation of L. Mueller, whereas it was read by Nicc. and 8 others, III 181 should be 781, on 144 the statement of Munro's readings should be reversed, 171 should be 174 and Lm. added; lxvii, 182 should be 172; if, as seems to be the case, where verses are transposed, the numbering is by Lm., i. e. of the codices, this principle should be indicated; 284 should be 274, 238 should be 338, on 386 *ruperat* should be *superat*; lxviii, 528 should be 529; lxix, 514 should be 513 Lm., 549 should be 543, 675 should be 678; lxx, 755 should be 748, VI 518 should be II 518; lxxi, 977 should be 966, 1035 should be 1036; lxxii, 1077 should be 1069, add Lm. after 1131; lxxiii, 1253 add OQ after *parent*, 1302 should be (1315 Lm.) not (1313), which is B.; lxxiv, on 1441 sq. insert Mr. before the English quotation; V 613 should be 608; lxxv, M. reads *tigna*, not *ligna*; the lemma 101 should be inserted; lxxvi, 126 should be 127, 240 *monimenta*, the text has *monumenta*; lxxvii, 392 should be 382, III 668 should be 698; lxxix, 771 is given no note, although Br. reads *infestae* against MSS, L. and M., *infesto*; lxxx, 837 should be 833; lxxxi, insert lemma 900 before *lapis*, "[928] Lm. B." unintelligible; B. rejects 935 (928 Br.), which Lm. omits altogether; lxxxiii, 1003 insert Mr. after the third reading, 1097 insert Mr. after *Britanni*, which should be spelled *Brittanni*; lxxxiv, 1167 *inurens* Mr., change Mr. to B.; M. reads *mersans* with Lm.; insert 1195 for lemma before *hac*, etc., 1274 should be 1273.

The footnotes under the text are inconsistent: sometimes the references are to Lachm., sometimes to Br.: p. 102, V 921-933 should be VI 923-935 Lm.; p. 134, 781-790 is Br. (784-793 Lm.); p. 146, 571 should be 570 Lm.; p. 147, 596 = 584, not 583; p. 152, the reference seems to be to Lm.; p. 157, "964 = 967; 966 = 965; 967 = 966 et 968" unintelligible; if italics refer to Bernays, it should read 964 Lm. = 965; 966 Lm. = 963; 957 Br. = 966 et 968; p. 161, 1114 sq. is Br. = 1132, not 1131; the remainder of the note is unintelligible; p. 168, '[1388-1389] = 1452, 1453.' the first numbers are Lm., the second B.; change to 1454-5 Lm.; p. 173, "[56 sq.] = 98 sq. (90 sq.)," this should be 88 sq. Br. (90 sq. Lm.); p. 178, add Lm. after IV 172 sq.; p. 181, [383-385] = 85-87, the first numbers are Lm., the second Br., p. 198, [988 sq.] = 993 sq., the latter number is B.; change to 996 Lm.

Text: I 239 *aeternaque* should be *aeternaque*; I 404 *pigraris* should be *pigraris*; II 220 *nomen* should be *momen*; II 397 *formina* should be *foramina*; II 1165-70, the figures 1168 and 1173 should be italicized; III 172 *et tamen* for *at tamen* (?); III 551 *licuntur . . . tabe* should be *linguntur . . . tabi* by p. liii; III 781 *salso* should be *in alto* by lemma p. iv; VI 1126 is inconsistent with the critical note in the proleg. Add the changes desired by the editor in the proleg.: III 594 *facie* for *corpore*; III 811 *fit* for *sit*; V 33 *pelagique* for *pelageque*; V 839 *qua* for *quae*.

Let no man hereafter try to edit a text with three sets of numbers.

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WILLIAM A. MERRILL.

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The *Saturnian Metre*, by W. M. LINDSAY. American Journal of Philology, XIV, Nos. 2 and 3.

The July and October numbers of this Journal for the year 1893 contained a valuable paper upon the *Saturnian Metre* by Mr. W. M. Lindsay. In view of the fact that Lindsay's theory of the *Saturnian metre* has been mentioned with approval by some of our best technical grammars (e. g. Stolz, *Historische Grammatik*, p. 32) and school-grammars, and since in many quarters it is evidently felt that Lindsay's article has settled a much-vexed question, it is worth while to examine his results with some care.

The article in question is comprehensive in its character. It includes the text of the *Saturnian* fragments, a discussion of certain important matters connected with accentuation and quantity, a criticism of the quantitative theory, and a statement of Lindsay's own theory of the *Saturnian metre*, with an application of his principles to the extant verses in that metre.

I may say at the outset that, as it seems to me, the merit of Lindsay's discussion lies in his method and in the fact that he brings into the foreground certain important elements of the *Saturnian verse* which have heretofore either been entirely overlooked or insufficiently considered.

The author's investigation of word-group accent, of primary and secondary accent, and of certain archaic quantities cannot be neglected by any one who is seeking a correct solution of the problems involved in the *Saturnian verse*. I do not propose, however, in this article to discuss Lindsay's conclusions upon any of these points, nor to consider the general merits of the quantita-

tive or accentual theory of the Saturnian verse, but I shall confine my attention to the general conclusions (pp. 305-28) which Mr. Lindsay reaches as the result of his investigation.

Two points, however, may be noted before passing to our subject proper. In the *Jahrbücher f. klass. Phil.* XIX, Dr. Reichardt advocated the quantitative theory of the Saturnian verse. The essential part of his theory, as it seemed to me, lay in his hypothesis that "any final syllable, whether long or short, may form an *arsis*." Upon this view Lindsay remarks (p. 165): "This, I must confess, seems to me something very like a yielding of the point at issue. If the quantity of a syllable matters so very little in Saturnian verse that any short final syllable may assume the part of a long syllable, the natural inference is that the quantity of syllables, at any rate of final (i. e. unaccented) syllables, is not the main factor in the Saturnian metre." This discussion of Reichardt's view does not seem to me quite satisfactory.

On pp. 232-3 of his article Reichardt calls attention to the fact that the Saturnian verse was used almost exclusively for hymns and religious formulae and for epic poetry. The peculiarly serious purposes for which it was used make it probable that the verse was rendered very deliberately, with a pause after each word. Reichardt maintains, therefore, that the admission of a short final syllable in place of a long one under these circumstances is similar to the use of a short final syllable instead of a long one in caesura, which even Ennius allows. It should be remarked also, in support of Reichardt's view, that it is the short *final* syllable which takes the place of a long one, and that while there are 63 such cases in extant Saturnian verses, there are only two cases (viz. *Lucius* and *vir*) where the apparent lengthening of a short medial syllable gives the adherents of the quantitative theory trouble. It seemed desirable to call attention to Lindsay's discussion of this matter, for, since the acceptance of Reichardt's hypothesis upon this point would remove the most serious objection to the quantitative theory, the hypothesis deserves a full and impartial statement.

One other point by way of introduction. On p. 305 of his article Lindsay states the rule for the accentuation of Saturnian verse which previous adherents of the accentual theory have laid down, and which Lindsay himself accepts. After stating the principle, he remarks: "But does this rule comprise the whole scheme of Saturnian versification? Does the metre, the poetical element of the line, depend merely on there being three incidences of stress in one half, and two in the other, beginning with the first syllable of the line? If it does, what would prevent a large number of sentences in, let us say, Cicero's speeches from possessing Saturnian metre? The opening sentence of the First Philippic, for example: *Antequam dè repùblica, I pátres conscripti, Dícam-ea quaè dicénda I hoc-témpore ábitrор!!* There must surely be some other factor beside this. I contend that there are two others." It becomes doubly desirable then to examine the two new factors to which Mr. Lindsay calls attention, because, unless they are accepted, the accentual theory as at present stated is, in the opinion of its most brilliant advocate, untenable.

The two new factors or principles of which Mr. Lindsay speaks, he states as follows: "The normal number of syllables is 7 in the first hemistich, 6 in the

second," and "After the first two feet of the line, a regular alternation of accentual rhythm is sought, a rising accent being followed by a falling and vice versa." The term 'falling' accent is used by Mr. Lindsay to describe the pronunciation of a word like *ddbunt*, *mdlum*, *Natvio*, 'rising' accent to describe that of *Metelli*, *poetae*.

Let us test the truth of the first principle by an examination of the extant Saturnian verses. Mr. Lindsay gives 144 of these in his paper, but in the case of 22 words are lacking or else the metre or text is uncertain. I shall therefore confine my attention to the 122 verses given on pp. 312-21. I have also, for the sake of fairness, based my investigation upon Mr. Lindsay's own text. The results may be stated very briefly. In these 122 verses the first hemistich has 6 syllables in 12 cases, 8 syllables in 23 cases, 9 syllables in 7 cases and in 5 other cases there are 8 syllables in the first hemistich, if we do not consonantize a vowel, admit synizesis or adopt some similar method of explanation. Disregarding these 5 cases, however, in 42 cases out of 122, or in 34 per cent. of the verses, the number of syllables in the first hemistich is not 'normal.' As for the second hemistich, it has 5 syllables in 21 cases, 7 syllables in 17 cases, 8 syllables in 2 cases and there is 1 doubtful case, i. e. in 40 cases, or in 33 per cent. of them, the number does not conform to Lindsay's standard. The state of things is little better if we confine our attention to the Scipionic inscriptions, which, as Mr. Lindsay says, "may be taken to be free from irregularities due to want of education and ignorance of metre, and from errors of the sculptor," and which have come down to us without textual change. The Scipionic epitaphs contain 25 verses. In 8 cases the first hemistich has a greater or less number of syllables than 7, and in 7 cases the number of syllables in the second hemistich is not 6. The state of things is of course much worse if we take the entire verse as a unit made up of two parts, the one containing 7 syllables and the other 6, and compare our results with Lindsay's first principle. When tested in that way there are but 49 normal verses out of 122.

As will be seen from the statistics given above, there are 30 cases in the first hemistich and 19 in the second, or 49 in all, where the number of syllables is too great. Upon this fact Mr. Lindsay remarks (p. 306): "This normal number of syllables for the two hemistichs is apparently departed from in those cases where the poet avails himself of the license of substituting two short syllables for an accented syllable, e. g. in the first hemistich, *sabit omne Loucdnam*, and sometimes in the second, e. g. *cdptibus opertis*; though that the departure is more apparent than real we see from the fact that a short syllable after an accented syllable tended to suffer syncope in Latin, e. g. *surgit* from *surrigit*, *optimus* from *opitimus*, *caldus* from *calidus*, so that a short accented syllable followed by another short syllable would not fall on the ear with much more force than a single syllable." The resolution of an accented syllable into two short syllables has a suspiciously quantitative ring about it; but passing over that fact, one cannot fail to be surprised at the freedom with which resolution is admitted. If I am not in error, there are 52 resolutions in 122 verses, and although Mr. Lindsay says (p. 306) that "two such resolutions of syllables are not permitted in the same hemistich and probably not in the same line," a double resolution must be admitted into the first hemistich of vv. 16, 17, 62,

67 and 133, unless the text be emended; but still more remarkable is the fact that in 18 of the 52 cases resolution takes place in the pretonic syllable, e. g.

Gnaíuod pátre prognátus || fórtis-uir sáplénsque  
Fáçile fácteis súpéráses || glóriam maiórum.

Mr. Lindsay has noted the fact (p. 306) that resolution occurs in the case of the pretonic syllable, but in view of the fact that one-third of the instances of resolution occur in the case of that syllable, the point is a very serious argument against his theory.

Of the 33 cases in which the number of syllables is too few, 6 may be explained away, but the other 27 must stand, it would seem, as simple variations from Mr. Lindsay's standard. Two instances of this sort are the first hemistich in

Dúctu aúspicio || impérioqu(e) eius

and the second hemistich in

Dédet Témpestátebus || aide méretod.

Mr. Lindsay's second principle is a somewhat difficult one to test, because the question whether the rhythm is alternate or not depends of course upon the accentuation, and the accentuation depends, in turn, upon the word grouping. Before considering Mr. Lindsay's word-groups it may be noted that his system of alternate rhythm is at the best far from being an exacting one. Alternate rhythm does not begin until "after the first two feet," and even then modifications are possible; the typical forms being either x'x(,) x'x, xx'x || x'xx, xx'x (sometimes || xxx'x, x'x) or x'x(,) x'x, x'xx || xx'xx, x'x (with modifications of the second hemistich, e. g. xx'x, x'x).

Even with these allowances the rhythm is not alternate unless we accept certain word-groups in support of which, as it seems to me, we should require very strong evidence before we can accept them. The truth of this fact is evident from the italicized word-groups in the following verses:

Mórs perfécit *tu(a)-ut-éssent* || ómnia bréuia  
Quoíei uíta defécit || nón-honos honóre  
Né-quairátis honóre || *quel-minus-sit* mandátus  
Tú-quae *míhi-narráto* || ómnia disértim  
Quándo díes aduéniet || *quem-profðta* Mórt(a) est  
Quámde máre saéuom || *uis-et-cui* sunt-mágnæ  
Ígitur dénum *Uixi-cor* || prae-pauóre fríxit  
Ímmortáles mortáles || *si-forl-fas* flére.

More instances of a similar character might be added if it were necessary. In most of these cases, if we are unable to accept the word-groups suggested, the rhythm ceases to be alternate, to say nothing of the fact that the number of accents in a hemistich becomes abnormal.

I would only say, in conclusion, that, in view of the considerations briefly stated above, Mr. Lindsay does not seem to me to have proved the existence of his two new factors, and that while the methods which he has used in the discussion give us hope of a solution of the problem some day, that solution has not yet been reached.

FRANK F. ABBOTT.

Catullus. Edited by ELMER TRUESDELL MERRILL, Rich Professor of Latin in Wesleyan University. Ginn & Co., Boston and London, 1893. 323 pp.

This volume is from every point of view a welcome addition to the 'College Series of Latin Authors.' I believe, moreover, that it enjoys the distinction of being the first complete Catullus edited by an American scholar. Professor Merrill has performed his task, if to edit a poet as charming as Catullus may be called a task, with a care and thoroughness that show him to be abreast of modern scholarship and fully alive to the requirements nowadays demanded of the editor of a classic. Criticism of a work, on the whole, so well done will, of course, rest largely upon those differences of opinion in such matters that are as allowable as they are likely to always exist.

The book consists of an Introduction (50 pp.), followed (pp. 1-224) by the text, under which, in accordance with the excellent plan of the series, is the commentary. Then comes (pp. 225-63) a brief account of the sources used in the constitution of the text, followed by a critical appendix, and lastly (pp. 263-73) indices of proper names and of the notes.

In the matter of text the editor is, on the whole, conservative. He sides with Baehrens, Benoist, Thomas and Schwabe in the "conviction [cf. his pref.] that only *codices Sangermanensis* (G) and *Oxoniensis* are of ultimate authority in determining the readings of the lost *codex Veronensis* (V), and that the readings of the other known MSS (except T) that differ from those of G and O have the value of conjectural emendations merely." Whether this view is altogether tenable, though it need not be discussed here, is at least open to argument. Many will support Ellis (Class. Rev. 8, 38) in his indorsement of K. P. Schulze's view (Catullus, Baehrens-Schulze, Leipzig, 1893, p. v) that "no one to-day can think that all MSS except G and O are to be thrown aside as useless." However that may be, Prof. Merrill prepared himself for this portion of his task with especial care, having made a complete transcript of O in July, 1889, and compared it on the spot with the collations of Ellis and Schwabe. Immediately following his preface is a facsimile of a page of O (63, 88 ff. to 64, 24), reduced one-third in size to fit this edition. The Critical Appendix exhibits "in full the readings of G and O, with the omission, however, of such as present only unimportant orthographical peculiarities." The readings of G rest on the published collations of Ellis and Schwabe, together with the facsimile of the MS published at Paris in 1890. A selection from the corpus of editorial conjecture is also given.

The Introduction (50 pp.), after a few remarks upon early lyric poetry at Rome, takes up the life and works of the author, dealing successively with dates of birth and death, family and circumstances, Lesbia, journey to Bithynia, relations with Caesar, poems, friends and foes, metres and prosody. Of course, considerable difference of opinion must always exist as to what are the proper topics to be taken up in the introduction to a book of this sort and how completely each should be treated. Professor Merrill's disposition and discussion of the various subjects mentioned are clear and concise, as they are bound to be in a work of this sort, and as complete perhaps as is possible within his limit of fifty pages. Any further extension of introductory matter may have conflicted with his own views, with the plan of the series, or with both. If I venture to criticize that view at all, it is because I am thoroughly

in sympathy with those who hold that the introduction, certainly to a poet like Catullus or Horace or Propertius, while clear and concise, should also, within reasonable limits, be exhaustive, dealing with every side of the poet's development. I believe that such an introduction is of the greatest benefit to students sufficiently advanced to be reading these authors. It is, of course, granted under all conditions that the instructor supplements in daily teaching the book that he uses: no instructor is worthy the name who does not give off in comment and suggestion much that no textbook could be expected to contain.

My criticism of Professor Merrill's introduction would therefore be directed at those omissions which arise directly from the too great brevity of it. The aims and tenets of the Catullian school receive a passing reference here and there (e. g. pp. 12 and 33), but a fuller treatment, bringing out clearly the history and significance of this most important literary movement, the pedigree and affiliations of the various departments in which Catullus and his friends tried their skill, would, it seems to me, be desirable. The same might be said of the sections on metre and prosody, the treatment of which has been reduced to the smallest possible compass. A clearer and more complete statement of Catullus' position in the history of Roman verse technique would, I believe, be an improvement. 'Brevity' is not always 'very good,' for while we are told on p. 50 that Catullus allows himself greater freedom in the management of his metres than either Lucretius or the later poets, that "his graceful command of rhythm was far removed from the fixed formalities adopted by the Augustans," we are not informed what those freedoms were or what their significance. Moreover, in using the terms 'graceful command,' etc., Professor Merrill is of course thinking of Catullus as a writer of *versus minuti* (cf. p. 33), although he does not say so. That Catullus' hexameters in the 64th could be similarly compared with Vergil's, or his distichs in 65-68 with those of Tibullus and Propertius, the editor would be the first to deny.

Professor Merrill, as he tells us on p. 33, omits from his introduction any detailed consideration of the diction and style of Catullus. It is probably for the same reasons that he says little of Catullus in his four distinct rôles as a poet of lyric, epic, elegy and epigram. So, too, he does not deal with the poet's debt to his predecessors or his influence upon those who followed him.

The commentary is admirably fitted to the purpose of the book. It is careful, thorough, appreciative, and leaves nothing unexplained where an explanation is possible or desirable. In many instances the editor's notes are unusually apt and felicitous.

Professor Merrill's statement at 3. 14, that Orcus is "here not the god of the underworld, but the underworld itself," rests upon a number of well-known passages. It does not seem to me, however, that any of them plainly run counter to the national conception of Orcus as a person. 'Orco' is a well-known character in the modern Italian fairy-tales, and has remained practically unchanged since the days of Catullus. The habitual use of *misellus* (3. 16) with reference to the dead gives added point to Martial's "Centum miselli iam valete quadrantes" (3. 7. 1). To the note on 3. 18 might be added Iuv. 6. 8. The metaphor in *comata Silva* (4. 12), common in Latin, is, as is well known, unwelcome in English. It is interesting, however, to observe how Milton has managed it (cf. P. L. 4, 136 and 223). Certainly the editor is right

in preferring *false* (14. 16) to *salse*. I cannot divest myself of the impression that *tremula* (17. 12) means nothing further here than the rocking motion so often used in encouraging the slumbers of a small child. While *vetulum* is an adjective commonly used with *Falernum* (cf. Macrob. 7. 12. 9), it almost seems as though the grouping "minister *vetuli puer*," etc. (27. 1), was meant to suggest the picture of the boy helping the old gentleman about the dining-room. I cannot believe that there is any reference to Pompey in the *vestra* of 29. 13. If Pompey ever descended to such a frivolity we can well imagine the grin of satisfaction with which he read this poem through to the very last line, which, with its sudden and disconcerting "socer generque, perdiditis omnia," was a cut across the face for which he was totally unprepared. In using *vestra* Catullus intended, it seems to me, that the reader should be thinking of Mamurra and Caesar rather than Pompey and Caesar. I am not sure that I quite understand the note on 34. 14. Is it in connection with her office as the 'light-bringing' that Diana came to be regarded as a goddess of birth? I should be inclined to think that the connection was, at least partly, suggested by the observed coincidence of the lunar month with the *catamenia mulierum*.

Of course, "poppies (61. 195) are not always described as flame-colored," any more than roses or violets or any other flower of which several varieties exist. On the difficult Attic poem the notes are unusually clear and satisfactory. The curious superstition mentioned at 64. 376 is one which in my boyhood I have often heard stated as a fact, but I never remember seeing it anywhere in literature except here and at the passage of Nemesianus which Prof. Merrill cites (cf. Ellis for another passage in point). The question as to whether the Callimachean original of 66 was written in all simplicity or is a piece of half-ironical persiflage like Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, and the generally received theory of a distinct and complicated plan of strophic arrangement in 68, are neither of them mentioned by the editor.

On p. 17 I observe as a slip of the pen 'Phalaean' for 'Choliambic.'

We have much to thank Professor Merrill for in this excellent edition of a most delightful poet. Among the many other good things he has done, he has given us the complete text of his author. This is especially grateful to those who are opposed to the modern mutilation of a classical poet, whether the process be one of 'selection for the use of schools' or 'Bowdlerization' for 'family reading.' A boy sufficiently mature and well trained to be reading Catullus, who at the same time will be injured by having access to his freedoms of expression, is scarcely worth the saving.

KIRBY F. SMITH.

Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgenossen herausgegeben von GEORG WISSOWA. Dritter Halbband: Apollon-Artemis. Stuttgart, J. B. Metzlerscher Verlag, 1895.

The original edition of Pauly's classical encyclopaedia, issued from the press of the same Stuttgart publishing house which has now begun an entirely rewritten edition of it in ten volumes of 1440 large octavo pages each, has the



phenomenal record of a work of reference that has maintained an unquestioned supremacy in its line for more than half a century. Its one English rival, the series of classical dictionaries edited by Dr. William Smith, is planned less distinctively for the requirements of professional scholarship. Its only French one, the great *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, projected by Daremberg and continued by Saglio and Pottier, remains but half finished. The progress toward completion of the ambitious French work and of the equally ambitious German one in its revised form will now wear the aspect of a tolerably fair international handicap match of classical scholarship.

Professor Wissowa, of the University of Marburg, who is the editorial head of the German publication, is favorably known from his many learned and critical contributions to philological, archaeological, and mythological science, and also as an editorial collaborator on Roscher's still incompletely completed lexicon of Greek and Roman mythology. In the present semi-volume, the mythological interest predominates, in virtue of the important articles called for under the heads of *Apollon*, *Ares*, *Argo* and *Argonautai*, and *Artemis*, enough to justify the mnemonic emphasis which the title-page lays on this element of the alphabetic area covered. It is natural to turn to the keyword articles first. Both are by Professor Wernicke of Halle. In the original *Pauly* the discussion of Apollo occupied but six pages and that of Artemis (*sub voce Diana*) but two. Wernicke devotes fifty-three pages of equal size to *Apollon* and to *Artemis* fifty-two, presumably exceeding his allowance by the odd pages, after the custom of encyclopaedia contributors. An increase of more than one thousand per cent. in the space and relative importance conceded to mythology is more than can be laid to a double personal equation. Obviously, the subject-matter of classical mythology and the hypotheses which attempt to account for it all have not only multiplied beyond measure, but have also risen to a plane from which they command greater respect and attention on the part of scholarly minds. We are far along indeed from the fossilized allegorizing that commanded the confidence of our grandmothers in their schoolgirl days. Wernicke, for instance, denies outright, as expressing primitive Greek faith, both the virginity of Artemis and her sisterly relation to Apollo. The lunar character and the attributes of the chase with which later classical poetry and art invest her he explains as erroneous conceptions due to the fortuitous association of the Peloponnesian and autochthonous Artemis cult with the Hellenic cult of Apollo in its Ionian form. He admits a primitive Greek moisture and vegetation goddess called Artemis, and assumes that her cult had solvency enough to absorb into itself the notions entertained in regard to a swarm of other fell and forest, flood and field, flock and family fairies. Only thus, he holds, can we account for such contradictory elements in the originally simple character of Artemis as the aggressive virginity ascribed to the goddess whose special sphere of ingerence in human affairs is the conducting of parturition to good issue. In short, Wernicke advocates a doctrine very akin to Andrew Lang's crazy-quilt theory of myth, not from having paid great attention to the English scholar's work, but from sheer force of evidence and evolutionary modes of reasoning. Apollo develops under his hands from an earth-spirit—akin, presumably, to the returning dead that have so large a place in folklore, although Wernicke does not point this

out—into a god of vegetation, of seasons, of flocks, of wild creatures, of human youth, of gymnastics, and of combat. Again, along another line, this earth-daemon becomes an oracular spirit, a god of oaths and covenants, a purifier and savior, a divine musician and dancer. Most closely allied to Apollo the earth-spirit is the death-dealing Apollo of many cults and legends. This aspect of the god is curiously combined with the boy-loving and athletic Apollo in the Lakonian story of the beautiful Hyakinthos inadvertently slain by Apollo's quoit while the two are engaged in gymnastic sport in the flowery meads of Amyklai. Indeed, the floral or vegetal god also appears plainly enough in this story. Co-ordinate with the chthonic Apollo is the Delphinian or marine Apollo who appears in the form of a dolphin in the Homeric hymn, to whom Ionian fishermen were accustomed to pray for a good catch, and who at Tarsos wielded Poseidon's trident. As protector of colonial enterprises, the god exhibits an equally Neptunian character in many instances. Wernicke places here his exploits as a builder. I should myself prefer to derive the cult of Apollo, regarded as a leader and establisher of communities, from his old pastoral aspect as furtherer of the growth and enterprises of human youth no less than of the increase of flocks and herds. The leader by land and the leader by sea appear very closely related in the Homeric hymn. The Apollo of templed hills and jutting promontories may perhaps belong here. Our author puts him midway between his chthonic and marine aspects of the god. Was the notion of a guiding deity sufficient to attach his worship to the kerbstones placed at doorways and street-corners, or must we connect this petrification of the Apollo cult with the pillar idols of the Phoenician sun-god Melkarth-Herakles, which his worshippers placed in roadways and at temple-entrances, as, for example, that of the sanctuary which Phoenician artisans erected for Solomon on Mount Zion of Jerusalem? There is yet a puzzle to solve here.

It seems to cost Wernicke a struggle to comment in conclusion on the recognition of a solar deity in Apollo by the ancients. He dismisses it as a speculative heresy, insufficiently justified by the outdoor and hilltop associations of a primarily chthonic cult, intimating that it may perhaps be traced to the Orphic allegorizing of the sixth century B. C. Nor will he, with Roscher, admit an Indo-European origin of the Apollinic religion.

Eight bright stars of Greek literature, science and criticism are ably discussed in this semi-volume by Crusius, Hultsch, Cohn, Kaibel, Gercke and von Jan, *viz.* Archilochos of Paros, Archimedes, the Alexandrian critics Aristarchos, Aristonikos and Aristophanes, the comic poet Aristophanes, Aristotle, and his pupil Aristoxenos of Tarentum, the founder of Greek musical science. We can barely stop to note as a curious piece of historical information from an unexpected source, Crusius's dating of Archilochos by means of Oppolzhofer's determination of the noon solar eclipse, to which the poet refers impressively in an extant fragment (No. 74, Bergk), as having been visible to inhabitants of Paros on April 5, 648 B. C. Duncker's conjectural date of 660 B. C. for the poet's death, and the no better fortified guesses of other historians and literary historians, fall to the ground by this remarkable computation. Crusius is excusable for not referring to the supposed bust of Archilochos, the identification of which rests only on a plausible conjecture of Visconti's. It

is strange that the silver cup found near Pompeii last winter and now in Paris, on which a skeleton inscribed ΑΡΧΙΔΟΧΟΣ appears in company with those of other foretime poets, should have escaped him.

The articles *architectura* and *arithmetica* by Puchstein and Hultsch, the former dealing largely with Vitruvius, will command the attention of specialists. Some multiple entries give a high opinion of the revisers' thoroughness and industry. Seventy historic characters, forty-six literary ones, and eleven artists are suitably discussed under *Apollonios*. Under *Aqua* competent experts in ancient geography—Dessau for Africa, Hirschfeld for Asia Minor, Hübner for Spain, Hülzen for Italy, Ihm for Gaul, etc.—locate one hundred places and towns of the Roman Empire that owed their first celebrity to their mineral springs. Under *archontes* all the Athenian magistrates of that office whose dates are known are tabulated according to the latest evidence, by von Schoeffer.

Although the circumstance that the letter A has already demanded two volumes occasions some qualms as to the ability of publishers and editor to compress the outstanding letters within the compass of eight without reckless skimping in the latter part of the alphabet, the whole work is definitively offered at 300 marks, to be delivered to subscribers in ten complete volumes of about 1440 pages each, in twenty semi-volumes, or in one hundred and fifty numbers at two marks each.

ALFRED EMERSON.

Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. Bearbeitet von H. Bläse, G. Landgraf, J. H. Schmalz, Fr. Stolz, Jos. Thüssing, C. Wagener und A. Weinhold. Ersten Bandes erste Hälfte: Einleitung und Lautlehre. Von FR. STOLZ. xii + 364 pp. Leipzig (Teubner), 1894.

This is the first instalment of the Historical Grammar of the Latin Language planned by Wölfflin, Landgraf, Schmalz and Wagener at the meeting of philologists held in Munich. In order to expedite the publication of the work the subject-matter was divided among more than half a dozen scholars, and, according to the original plan, Stolz was to treat of stem-formation only; it was not until later that the phonological part also was assigned to him. And in this fact possibly may be found a reason for some of the shortcomings of the volume under consideration: a certain evidence of haste and want of polish characterize it and manifest themselves both in the arrangement of the material offered and in occasional omissions and little inaccuracies. These, together with the unevenness of treatment and lack of proportion which are here and there apparent, give to the whole the appearance of lecture-notes somewhat hurriedly whipped into shape and, under pressure of time, prepared for publication.

The difficulty of writing, at the present moment, a satisfactory treatise on Latin phonology will be conceded on all sides. An etymological dictionary is still wanting, and a large number of controverted and obscure points await final treatment in monographs. But even under these conditions a compendium may be of great value as a sort of clearing-house for balancing opposing theories; valuable also not only by the positive information it gives, but at

least equally so by its pointing out and calling attention to still unexplored problems. If, at the same time, ways and means for their solution can be suggested, so much the better. But, in general, a compendium will be rarely the place for the detailed presentation of new results won by independent investigation, and they, in fairness, should not be expected. A fair degree of completeness, on the other hand, is indispensable to make the compendium a trustworthy and impartial guide. This and clearness of presentation are the two tests of excellence to which a book of this character ought to be subjected. An examination of Stolz's book will show that neither in point of completeness nor in point of arrangement can it be considered satisfactory, and the number of paragraphs which invite criticism on account of incompleteness or lack of proper arrangement is quite large.

The introduction covers 113 pages (about one-third of the volume) and deals in a very cursory way with the position of Latin within the circle of the Indo-European languages, especially its relation to the other Italic dialects and to the Romance languages; the periods of the historical development of Latin; the sources of our knowledge of Latin; a survey of the Latin grammarians; the value of inscriptions and of manuscripts; the more important works on Latin grammar of the post-Roman period; the alphabet; accent; and pronunciation. All these subjects are treated with the utmost brevity, which frequently becomes excessive, when a mere reference takes the place of a direct statement. The dialectic variations which have received of late considerable attention have been, it seems to me, quite unduly slighted. Even the bibliographical references are here altogether too scanty for a subject of such importance. Following Kübler, by the way (Arch. f. lat. Lex. VIII 161), the statement 'latinitas et regionibus mutatur et tempore' is attributed to Cyprian, Epist. 25. I have not been able to find it there. A similar sentence ('cum . . . et ipsa latinitas et regionibus quotidie mutetur et tempore') occurs in St. Jerome's commentary on the second epistle to the Galatians, Migne, P. L., vol. XXVI, 357.

In the chapter on accentuation a few remnants of the old recessive accent in proper names (Seelmann, p. 31, note 1) should have been added to the other facts from which the recessiveness of the old Latin accent may be inferred.

To the subject of pronunciation not more than three pages are devoted, and these deal only with the sources of our knowledge, and give a few references. Thereafter the subject is nowhere taken up, and under the head of the individual letters not a word is said regarding their pronunciation. This is certainly a most reprehensible omission; for even from a purely linguistic standpoint the phonetic side is of great importance, if we are to deal, as we ought, with sounds instead of letters, and how else are we to determine whether two different spellings of a word are mere orthographical variations representing the same sound or whether the difference in spelling is the reflex of a phonetic change? To be sure, if we find in §239 'surd' and 'fortis,' 'sonant' and 'lenis' identified, and immediately after the remarkable statement 'Von den drei Kategorien verschiedener Articulationsart, worunter man den grösseren oder geringeren Grad der Spannung der Mundtheile bei der Hervorbringung der einzelnen Laute (fortes und lenes) . . . zu verstehen hat,' etc., we may feel less regret at the absence of other phonetic remarks.

In the second part of the volume the vowels and consonants are taken up

individually and their independent and combinatory changes discussed. Here again much could be done to make the articles more complete and improve their arrangement. A few examples may illustrate this.

The occurrences of Latin *ā* are given under five headings, viz. (1) corresponding to I.E. *ā*, §98, (2) corresponding to I.E. *ā*, §99, (3) as reflex of I.E. *ā*, §100, (4) forms in which *-av-* seems to go back to more original *-ov-*, §101, (5) obscure *ā*'s in *pando*, *scando*, *palleo*, §102. In §98 the proofs of the originality of the *ā* might have been added in a note. Although in a number of words the cognates are apparent, in others the nature of the *ā* is less clear; *lacer*, for instance, in view of the Hesychian *ἀπέλαρκα* (Bezzenberger's Beiträge, V 314) with its ablaut of *ē* : *ā*, would rather belong to §99, because such *ā*'s are regarded by Stolz as reflexes of I.E. *ā*.—In §99 the dissenting view of Bechtel (Hauptprobleme, p. 238 ff.) concerning the vowel of the heavy ablaut-series in the weak degree (generally assumed to have been I.E. *ā*) deserved careful mention. It is also omitted in the paragraphs on ablaut.—The bare assertion that *ar* in *arbor*, *ars*, etc., reflects a long sonant *ā* without the evidence of cognates and other proof is also very unsatisfactory.—*Vocatio*, *vocivus* : *vacuus* (§101) has nothing to do with Thurneysen's supposed change of *-ov-* to *-av-*; Collitz, in Bezzenberger's Beiträge, X 62, has attempted to give an explanation, and cites some parallel cases. But a reference to this article is wanting.—The examples in §102 are so few and the statement ("entzieht sich bisher noch sicherem Verständniss") so vague that no one will be able to form any conception regarding the appearance of *a* in the *e*-row. References to Johansson, BB. XV 307, note, and Bechtel, Hauptprobleme, 246, are wanting.—A cross-reference to p. 169 for the *a* in *passar*, *novarca* would be desirable.

To the parallel Greek *-pi-* : Latin *-er-* in §114 should be added Meyer's equation, BB. V 240, Greek *-pt-* : Latin *-er-*, e. g. *cervus* : *κρι(F)ός*.—The discussion of the relation of Latin *ve* to *vo*, §§115 and 122, is as unsatisfactory as was that in Iwan v. Müller's Handbuch. BB. XIX 308, emended in some particulars after Havet, M. de la S. de L. V 46, note 1; Osthoff, Trans. Am. Phil. Ass. XXIV 50 ff., and Solmsen, Studien z. lat. Lautgeschichte, p. 1 ff., disposes, I think, satisfactorily of the cases of this supposed change.—§115g should be emended by inserting after "vor *r*" the words 'provided the *r* stands for original *s*'.—The *o* in *solvo* is still attributed to the following *l* (p. 129), but *socordia*, *sobrius* show that this sporadic change of *e* before *l* need not be assumed; Stolz himself gives the two collateral forms *so* : *se* on p. 194.—The peculiar vocalization of forms like *fulgur*, *fulguris*, *augur*, *auguris*, etc., against *ebur*, *eboris*, *femur*, *femoris* seems to have passed unnoticed.—On the change of *vo* to *vu* (§183) the very satisfactory treatment by Froehde, BB. XIV 80, should have been consulted.

This list might easily be enlarged by a careful examination of paragraph after paragraph, and additions may be found in the reviews by Prellwitz in Bezzenberger's Beiträge and Schulze in the Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen. Yet, in spite of all these shortcomings, I do not wish to intimate that the book is unworthy of careful perusal. With all its incompleteness and lack of proper arrangement, it presents a collection of facts and references among which almost any one will be sure to find enough that is new to repay him for his trouble.

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## REPORTS.

### NEUE JAHRBUCHER FÜR PHILOLOGIE UND PAEDAGOGIK, 1892.

#### Fascicles 4-5.

36. Pp. 225-33. Thukydides und die religiöse Aufklärung. The religious views of Thucydides are again brought under consideration by H. Meuss, who is, however, unable to arrive at any but negative results. Thucydides does not exhibit in his history a belief in *répara* or in oracles, and the expression of religious belief or non-belief in the speeches of his characters cannot be taken as indicative of the historian's own views. But even in the speeches the sparseness of references to the religious ideas of the day is noticeable (13 instances in about 200 chapters). In the expressed views of the writer there is little to indicate his own position. While the passages in which he makes reference to the religious sentiment of the time do not reveal the author's positive belief, the failure to mention in his explanation of phenomena the power of the gods as a ruling factor marks the historian as not in sympathy with the religious sentiments prevalent in his time. On the other hand, he never expressly denies the existence and power of the deities, but holds a middle course, like Protagoras, who felt unable to affirm either that the gods existed or that they did not exist.

37. Pp. 234-8. Zu Sophocles. Emendations by N. Wecklein of four passages in the plays, one in the fragments, and one in the scholia of Sophocles.

38. P. 238. Zur Construction von *πρίν*. A. Weiske criticises the common grammatical rule for *πρίν* with the infinitive and with the indicative. He proposes the following substitute: *πρίν* is followed by the indicative when the two actions joined by it have some connection in time, by the infinitive when they have no temporal connection. From this rule it is apparent that in the first case reality, in the second inference is expressed.

39. Pp. 239-40. Neu aufgefundene Handschriften der Homerischen Hymnen. A description by A. Ludwich of codex Ambrosianus, codex Parisinus and codex Vaticanus (gr. 1880, discovered by H. Rabe and designated by the letter U) of the Homeric Hymns. Rabe's collation of the readings of U for 82 verses distinguishes this manuscript from those of the most badly interpolated class,  $\pi$ , and shows that it has variants not to be found in any other codex. Ludwich proves, furthermore, that codex Estensis (J), from its agreement with Ambrosianus (D), one of the best MSS of the Hymns, is not to be thrown aside as worthless, as Hollander has done.

40. Pp. 241-56. Proklos und Apollodoros. A refutation by R. Wagner of the assertion made by Bethe (in *Hermes*, XXVI 593 ff.) in regard to the sources of the information concerning the epic cycle contained in Proclus and

Apollodorus, viz. that the Proclus excerpts are not, as generally believed, extracts from the poems themselves, but rather that Proclus took them from a general mythological handbook, which was likewise used by Apollodorus. Although affirming that large parts of Diodorus, Apollodorus and Hyginus were taken from a mythological handbook of the first century B. C., nevertheless Bethe was forced to acknowledge that there is a great deal in Apollodorus that cannot be shown to have been in the treatise assumed. The stories that existed in no other form than that found in the tragedies may have been drawn from such a source; but others are used by the tragedians which have either no equivalent in Diodorus and Hyginus or appear in different form. Bethe was therefore compelled to assume that the various forms of the legend were given side by side in the supposed handbook, and that later mythographers selected each the form that pleased him. It is more probable that Apollodorus, Hyginus and Proclus used a book containing the arguments of the tragedies, collected and written down independently. That Apollodorus used such a collection of arguments is demonstrated by the fact that the legends treated in less known tragedies are given by him in a form different from current tradition. If such a collection of arguments was used by Apollodorus for the subjects of the tragedies, it is quite likely that for the legends of the Trojan War he used a collection of hypotheses to the epics.

41. Pp. 257-64. Zu Xenophons Hellenika. Conjectures to six passages of Xenophon's Hellenica suggested by J. A. Simon.

42. Pp. 265-7. Batrachos—Battaros. O. Hense suggests the possibility of identifying the Βάτραχος ὁ πορνοβοσκός of Plutarch's *πῶς δεῖ τὸν νέον ποιημάτων ἀκούειν* (18 C) with Βάτταρος πορνοβοσκός of the second mimiam of Herondas, in opposition to the generally accepted theory that Batrachus was the name of a character in some comedy of Menander.

43. Pp. 268-72. Ueber das Wort ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΝ und das Alexandrinische Museion. A discussion by W. Weinberger of the meaning of *μουσεῖον*, with a view of showing when and how it came to be applied to such an institution of savants as the Alexandrian Museum.

44. Pp. 273-308. Zu den Pseudosibyllinischen Orakeln. Exegesis and emendation of a large number of passages in the fifth and seventh books of the Pseudo-sibylline oracles by K. Buresch.

45. Pp. 309-12. Zu Aischines Reden. G. M. Sakorraphos suggests emendations to several passages in the orations of Aeschines, consisting mainly in the bracketing of superfluous words and phrases.

46. P. 312. Zu Platons Alkibiades II. Conjecture to Pl. Alcib. II 141 D by Fr. Polle.

47. Pp. 313-20. Zur Topographie Korkyras. Further confirmation brought forward by B. Schmidt of his assertion (Korkyräische Studien, Leipzig, 1890) that the πρὸ τὸν Ἡραίον νῆσος of Thucydides (III 75, 5) was the island upon which stands the present citadel, and that the Heraion was within the old city and at its northern extremity. He identifies the mountain Ἰστόνη (Thuc. III 85, 4; IV 46, 1) with the present town of Bistwasi on the northern part of the island.

48. P. 320. Zu Tacitus Annalen. P. R. Mueller conjectures *nimius* for *intus* in Tac. Ann. I 20.

49. Pp. 321-35. Der Tag der Schlacht von Mutina. O. E. Schmidt rejects the date given by Drumann for the battle at Mutina, April 27, and approves that suggested by Lange, April 21, attempting to reconcile the somewhat conflicting accounts found in Appian and in Cicero's letters to Brutus. If this date be accepted, the two letters, which Schmidt has elsewhere shown are united to make I 3, bear the dates April 20 or 21 and April 27 respectively (in the latter X Kalendas Mai. must be emended to V Kal. M.). The date of Cicero's letter to Plancus, X 14, as given, needs no change.

50. P. 335. Zu Horatius. P. Barth suggests *secuisse* for *acuisse* Hor. Carm. I 2, 4.

51. P. 336. Zu Tacitus Agricola. O. Keller would read *summae* for *summa* in Tac. Agric. 5.

52. Pp. 337-56. Lucanus und Seneca. The dependence of Lucan upon his uncle Seneca is demonstrated by the citation of numerous parallel passages and sentiments by C. Hosiulus.

53. P. 356. Zu Ciceros Pompeiana. Julius Lange proposes the emendation *suum animum* for *suam manum* in Cic. Pomp. 24.

54. Pp. 357-68. Miscellanea. Emendation and exegesis of miscellaneous passages by W. Drexler. I. Auson. Epist. 22, 45 ff. II. Paulinus, poema ult. 122 ff. III. Athen. III 149 C, use of ἀπομαγδαλά. IV. Hymn. ad Art. 12. V. φροίνη as epithet of Hecate in Paris papyrus. VI. Use of ἐπήκοος as epithet of the gods. VII. Imprecatory inscription published by Delattre in Bull. de corr. hell. XII 294-302. VIII. Inscription on gem in Biehler's collection. IX. Inscription from Silivri, first described by J. H. Mordtmann in 1884.

#### Fascicle 6.

55. Pp. 369-85. Vorhomerische Abbildungen Homerischer Kampfscenen. H. Kluge identifies the scenes depicted on several of the articles found at Mycenae with passages in the Iliad. That engraved upon the seal ring taken from the fourth grave corresponds in detail with A 517-38; that on the sardonyx from the third grave agrees with II 330-4. The scene represented on one of the three plates of a gold ornament found in the third grave is the same, even to the minutest detail, as that in A 218-47, while the lion scenes on the remaining two parts of the ornament may well be connected with the history of the Atreidai. A stelé found at Mycenae presents two scenes, the upper of which Kluge identifies, though not so conclusively, with Iliad, A 113-21. And finally the representations on a dagger-blade bear great resemblance to E 161, P 61 and A 172. The connection of these engraved scenes with the Iliad passages is held by Kluge to be the following. The poet of the Iliad made use of older epics in which these situations were described, and had doubtless seen the representations upon the articles found at Mycenae, which even for him belonged to a remote antiquity. Evidence for this conclusion is to be found in the fact that the Homeric descriptions are not only

very true to the pictures, but often add a detail which could not be inferred from them and which must have been due to the older descriptions after which the Homeric passages were modeled.

56. Pp. 385-6. Zu Thukydides. For the troublesome  $\tau\bar{\omega} \delta\bar{e} \acute{e}k\acute{a}te\bar{p}oi$  of Thuc. II 89, 3 Liebold suggests  $\tau\bar{\omega} \delta\bar{e} \acute{e}v \theta\acute{a}te\bar{p}oi$ .

57. Pp. 387-95. Zu Aristonikos. Discussion of Aristonicus's views of (1)  $\zeta\omega\sigma\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{o}$ ,  $\zeta\omega\mu\bar{a}$ , (2)  $\gamma\bar{v}\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{o}\bar{v}$ , and (3)  $\kappa\acute{a}\mu\bar{o}\bar{v}\bar{i}\bar{y}$ , with suggested corrections of the scholia, by A. Ludwich.

58. Pp. 395-7. Review by M. Bencker of Schumacher's Eine Pränestinische Ciste im Museum zu Karlsruhe (Heidelberg, 1891).

59. Pp. 397-9. Eine Aegyptische Grabinschrift. Emendations to C. I. G. 4708, by W. Schwarz.

60. Pp. 400-8. Neues aus Syrakus. Criticism of Cavallari's interpretation of the recent archaeological discoveries in Syracuse. Lups urges that the stone construction traced by C. through the Contrada del Fusco and regarded by him as a holy street was rather a portion of the old city wall.

61. Pp. 408-9. H EK MOYSEIOT. The  $\acute{e}k\acute{e} M\acute{o}v\acute{e}i\acute{o}v$  copy of Homer E. Dittrich holds to have been brought from Crete after the death of Aristarchus. At Aptera on Crete there was a *Movēiōv*, and the copy is mentioned in the note to the passage in which Odysseus represents himself as a Cretan.

62. P. 409. Zu Platons Politeia. Emendations by O. Apelt to Pl. Pol. 436 A and 548 C.

63. Pp. 410-16. Nochmals der Archetypus der Brutusbriefe. Discussion of the archetype of the Brutus letters by L. Gurlitt. He agrees with O. E. Schmidt that I 3a was written on the 20th or 21st of April, I 3b on the 27th of the same month. I 4 is the answer to I 3a, so that the archetype does not lack a leaf at this point. I 16 and 17 are interpolated, except §7 of 17, which, Gurlitt holds, is the answer of Brutus to a letter of Cicero conveying news of Porcia's illness (written about June 22; to this I 14 is Cicero's answer, written July 11). This letter of Cicero has been lost, but was perhaps to have been found on a lost leaf of the archetype containing, according to Schmidt, the conclusion of I 4a and the beginning of I 4b, letters received by Cicero on May 21 and June 2 respectively. The chronological order would be thus preserved. I 18 was misplaced by the insertion of the two spurious letters preceding, and belongs properly after I 15.

64. Pp. 417-22. Die Hauptquelle der römischen Königsgeschichte bei Diodoros. Bader first called attention to the fact that Diodorus, in his history of the Roman kingdom, used Polybius as authority for certain passages. In this article R. von Scala adds to the passages cited by Bader several in which he thinks Diodorus shows undoubtedly traces of influence from Polybius.

65. Pp. 422-4. Zu Livius. Exegesis of Liv. XXVII 28, 6 f., by A. Wodrig. The final clause *ut—agerent* is to be referred to *remitto retro nuntio* preceding, not to the following words, as Weissenborn and Friedersdorff have done.

66. Pp. 425-32. Die Eustochius-recension des Gellius. M. Hertz shows that Jordan's assertion that there are two classes of Gellius MSS, one showing marks of revision by Eustochius, a copy of which was given by him to Aurelius, as the epigram at the end of bk. IX indicates, is not sufficiently well grounded. The arbitrary changes in the text cited by Jordan are shown to be mere chance errors of a copyist.

Fascicle 7.

67. Pp. 433-64. Die Pseudosibyllinischen Orakel und ihre neueste Beurteilung. A. Rzach defends his edition of the pseudo-Sibylline oracles against the polemical criticism of Buresch (in Jahrb. for 1891).

68. Pp. 465-77. Die Legende vom Tode des grossen Pan. W. H. Roscher, rejecting the explanations of this legend propounded by Welcker and Preller and disproving the assumption of Mannhardt, that the story is Indo-Germanic, suggests that the source is to be found in Egypt in the person of the god Mendes, whose mortality is mentioned by Herodotus, as well as the loud lamentations at his death.

69. Pp. 477-8. Bitte an Mythologen. A plea by Otto Gruppe for the correct interpretation of words used by him in his *Griechische Culte und Mythen*, which critics have distorted.

70. Pp. 479-84. Beiträge zur Kenntnis griechischer Kalender. An attempt by E. Bischoff to determine the order of the Thessalian months, with restitution of the calendar of the Perrhaibi, of Halos and of the other Phthiotic states.

71. Pp. 485-92. Zu Caesars Rheinbrücke. G. Hubo shows that the phrase *intervallo pedum quadragenum* of Caesar, B. G. IV 17, 5, must be the distance between the two rows of piles at the water's surface.

72. P. 492. Zu Ovidius Fasti. *iube* in Ov. Fasti, IV 612, is emended to *lubet* by Fr. Polle.

73. Pp. 493-504. Beiträge zur römischen Taktik. Rang und Beförderung der Centurionen. F. Giesing combats Fröhlich's view in regard to the rank and position of the centurions, and offers the following scheme, based upon the old threefold age-classification:

I class:	1. primus pilus	2. primus princeps	3. primus hastatus.
II class:	4-12 (pilus prior 2-10)	13-21 (princeps prior 2-10)	Priores.
	22-30 (hastatus prior 2-10)		
III class:	31-40 (pilus posterior 11-20)	41-50 (princeps posterior 11-20)	Posteriores.
	51-60 (hastatus posterior 11-20)		

74. Pp. 505-12. Zum neunten und elften Buche des Quintilianus. Explanation and emendation of six passages each in b. IX and b. XI of Quintilian's Inst. by M. Kiderlin.

75. P. 512. Zu Plautus. J. Lange would read in Pl. Truc. 284 *nusquam ulla* instead of *musca nulla*.

## Fascicles 8-9.

76. Pp. 513-28. Verschiedenes zu den Trachinierinnen. Discussion, interpretation and emendation of twelve passages of Soph. Trach. by J. Oeri.

77. Pp. 529-40. Platons Sophistes und die Ideenlehre. O. Apelt defends his assertion against Zeller, that the definition given in Soph. 247 E is not to be regarded as Plato's own view.

78. Pp. 540-3. Zur Syntax des Zahlwortes  $\Delta\tau\omega$ . A statistical study of the use of the inflected and uninflected forms of  $\delta\omega$ , with statement of the law that seems to govern their use, by E. Hasse.

79. P. 544. Ueber den Codex Estensis der Homerischen Hymnen. H. Hollander defends his assertion that cod. Esten. is a direct copy of Aurispa's codex ( $\Lambda$ ) of the Homeric Hymns.

80. Pp. 545-70. Zu Xenophons Anabasis. F. Reuss calls attention to many interpolated passages in the Anabasis, discusses the value of the Athenaeus citations for the text, and gives a list of passages in Dionysius Hal. evidently taken from the Anabasis.

81. Pp. 571-80. Mitteilungen aus Papyrushandschriften. Blass furnishes information with regard to the readings of the papyrus MS of Aristotle's Politeia Athenaion, of Hypereides' *Katà Φιλιππίδον*, *Katà Δημοσθένους* and *'Υπὲρ Δικόφονος*, of Euripides' Antiope, and of *Nόμυμα*.

82. Pp. 581-93. Aristoteles Urteil über die Demokratie. P. Cauer concludes that the phrase used in the Ath. Pol., c. 41 implies approval of the democracy, in which case the author cannot be Aristotle.

83. Pp. 593-4. Zu Herodotos. A. Weiske thinks that the delay of the Spartans to send aid to Marathon would be fully accounted for, if we had complete information about the Karneia, which was doubtless a nine-day festival and could not be interrupted without affront to the gods.

(8). Pp. 595-6. Zu Caesar de Bello Gallico. J. Lange suggests emendations to four passages of Caesar's Gallic War.

84. Pp. 597-613. Des Horatius Canidia-gedichte. Interpretation of meaning and connection of Sat. I 8, Epod. 5 and 17, by H. Dünzter.

85. Pp. 614-20. Zu Tibullus. F. Wilhelm. Part I deals with the situation of the second poem, which, Wilhelm holds, is before Delia's door. Part II is a defence of the readings of Ambros. and Vatic. in four passages.

86. Pp. 621-32. Noch einmal die Buchfolge in Senecas Naturales Quæstiones. W. Allers uses, in the main, as criterium for the determination of the order of the books of Sen. Nat. Quaest., the treatment of the subject in stoical works prior to that of Seneca.

87. P. 632. Zu Ovidius Metamorphosen. P. Loewe conjectures *oribus ossa* for *ossibus ora* in Ov. Met. V 58.

(51). Pp. 633-4. Zu Tacitus Agricola. P. R. Mueller emends seven passages of Tac. Agric.

88. Pp. 635-53. Eine Welthandelsstrasse. W. Schwarz discusses the road from Juliopolis, a suburb of Alexandria, to Koptos, and from thence to Berenike, the most important commercial road of antiquity for trade with India.

89. P. 653. Zur figura etymologica im Lateinischen. J. H. Schmalz cites examples supplementary to his list in *Philol. Rundschau*, II 47.

90. Pp. 654-6. Zum Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Exegesis and correction of fourteen inscriptions by C. F. W. Mueller.

Fascicle 10.

(24). Pp. 657-74. Zur Geschichte der Perserkriege. V. Der Kampf bei Thermopylai. H. Welzhofer continues his critical survey of the Persian wars, treating in V the battle at Thermopylae. He compares the accounts given by Herodotus and Diodorus, and holds that the former greatly exaggerated the Persian host.

91. Pp. 675-8. Zur Geschichte der Medicin im Altertum. M. Wellmann collects the information available regarding Straton, Aetios Sikamios, Hikesios, Apollonios and Antipatros.

92. Pp. 679-91. Die Plethora bei Erasistratos. Erasistratus' treatment of plethora as a disease is discussed by R. Fuchs.

93. Pp. 692-9. Ein epistolographisches Uebungsstück unter den Pariser Papyri. The two letters from the first papyrus published by Brunet de Presle are shown by W. Schmid to be school rhetorical exercises of the second or first century B. C., demonstrating the existence of rhetorical studies in Egypt at that time.

94. Pp. 699-700. Zu Platons Protagoras. F. Polle emends 342 B, and B. Grosse 353 C.

95. Pp. 701-9. Die Schattenlosigkeit des Zeus-Abatons auf dem Lykaion. W. H. Roscher explains the legend about the absence of shadow in the Zeus abaton on Mt. Lycaeum (Paus. VIII 38, 6) by the identification of this place with Olympus, which is, according to Homer, free from wind, rain, snow and shadows.

96. Pp. 709-12. Zu Phaedrus Fabeln. F. Polle suggests *Aesopus* for *quidam* in the first line of III 4 of Phaedrus, and explains the situation as follows: an ape is hanging in a market, and the head has been left on to show the kind of meat.

97. Pp. 713-28. Ciceros Correspondenz aus den Jahren 59 und 58. W. Sternkopf subjects the letters of Cicero written in the years 59 and 58 B. C. to a careful examination, with a view of determining their chronological order.

98. P. 728. Zu Ovidius Heroiden. Emendation by P. Loewe of 8, 104.

Fascicle 11.

(24). Pp. 729-51. Zur Geschichte der Perserkriege. VI. Die Seekämpfe bei Artemision. VII. Die Einnahme Athens. H. Welzhofer continues his critical discussion of the various accounts of the battle at Artemision in VI, and in VII of the capture of Athens by the Persians.

99. P. 751. Zu Plutarchos. E. Goebel discusses Plut. de def. orac. 17.

100. Pp. 752-8. Zum Roman der Alexandrinerzeit. F. Susemihl holds that in the description of *narratio* given by Cicero (de inv. I 19, 27) and by the Auctor ad Her. (I 8, 12 f.), the second main division is added in order to make place in the scheme for this form of literature, which was invented about that time and was in popular favor.

101. P. 758. ΩΡΑ = Stunde. M. C. P. Schmidt points out that *Ωρα* in the sense of 'hour' first occurs in Aristotle's Ath. Pol. 30.

102. Pp. 759-60. Die Priesterschaften in Karien und Lydien. O. Höfer corrects and supplements Heller's article 'de Cariae Lydiaeque sacerdotibus' in Jahrb. Spplbd. XVIII.

103. Pp. 761-7. Einiges über ΤΥΧΗ. In I H. Lewy discusses *τύχη* as name of the deity at Delphi prior to Apollo. II. *τύχη* as one of the *Μοῖραι*. III. *τύχη* = 'good fortune' in Pind. fr. 223 (244). IV. Aesch. Pers. 598 *τύχης* to be changed to *τύχας*. V. Emendation of Xenocles fr. 1 (Nauck). VI. *τύχη* in Menander, fr. 3 a, b, IV 212 M. VII. Emendation of Epicurus (apud Diog. Laert. X 133 f.). VIII. Josephus Arch. XVI 11, 8, *τύχη* = *εἰμαρμένη*. IX. The ladder depicted on Lucanian and Apulian vases is a symbol of *τύχη*, the most prominent goddess of the time.

(50). P. 768. Zu Horatius. P. Preibisch offers explanation of the manuscript reading in Carm. I 2, 21.

104. Pp. 769-97. Das Druidentum. L. Paul subjects our information about the Druids to a careful examination. He outlines their social and religious customs and beliefs, shows wherein the latter differed from the Pythagorean, describes the three classes—bards, vates and Druidae—and their functions, and calls attention to the radical change in the character of the Druids shown by the various accounts of Caesar, Diodorus, Strabo, Lucan and Mela, brought about chiefly by the abolition by the Romans of human sacrifices.

105. Pp. 797-800. Zur Odyssee. Verses 275-8 of *Odyssey* a are rejected by R. Gaede as interpolated from β 195 ff.

#### Fascicle 12.

106. Pp. 801-25. Das zwanzigste Buch der Odyssee. Alfred Scotland, by athetesis and emendation, reduces book XX of the *Odyssey* from 394 to 80 verses, which he regards as the original form. In ch. V the author endeavors to prove that the kingdom of Odysseus did not extend beyond the island of Ithaca.

(105). P. 826. Zur Odyssee. The combination *ἀλλὰ μάλα* in ε 342, 358, 360 and elsewhere is resolved by W. Pökel into a common *ἀλλά* and a *μάλα* to be connected with a following adverb.

107. Pp. 827-40. Die Bedeutung von APETH bei Thukydides. E. Lange attempts the refutation of Müller-Strübing's definition of *ἀπέθη* in Thucydides, viz. "rücksichtsloses Verfolgen eines bestimmten Zweckes," and shows

by examination of all the passages in which the word occurs, that this interpretation is applicable in only one instance and not even then necessary. The word always implies an ethical element.

(54.) Pp. 841-7. *Miscellanea* by W. Drexler. Continuation of pp. 357 ff. X. Explanation of plasma found in Nijmegen. XI. *ΤΟΠΗΣΟΣ*. XII. Unknown figure on diadem in Berlin (Jahrb. d. ksl. d. arch. inst. VII, arch. anz. s. III f.) is Mēn. XIII. *Placidus ad Stat. Theb.* I 716 ff. XIV. *Gloss. Labb.*, p. 40, *Conso.* XV. *Stityphone* (Schneider's *Callimachea*, II 693, fr. 561) should be *Seti-Typhone* or *Set-Typhone*. XVI. Refutation of Riess' conjecture (Nechepsonis et Petosiridis frr., *Phil. Spplbd.* VI 333, n. 6). XVII. Discussion of the tradition that the earth emits sweet odors where the rainbow touches it.

108. Pp. 848-50. *Zu Cornelius Nepos.* J. Lange emends six passages of *Nepos*.

109. Pp. 851-62. *Zu den lateinischen Panegyrikern.* Conjectures by R. Götze to about forty-five passages in the Roman panegyrists.

(95). P. 863. *Schattenlosigkeit.* Lewy adds to his article on pp. 701 ff. a note from *Numbers* xiv 9.

110. P. 863. *Zu Lactantius.* *molestiam*, *Lact. Inst.* III 17, 2, is emended by T. Stangl to *modestiam*.

FRANK LOUIS VAN CLEEF.

REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE. Vol. XVIII.

No. I.

1. Pp. 1-41. *Essay on the syntax of the voices in the Greek of the New Testament*, by Joseph Viteau. The usage of the N. T. is carefully compared with that of the LXX and classic Greek. The three voices are treated in succession, their uses analyzed, and the individual verbs classified. The essay closes with a discussion of the verbals in *-τέος* and *-τος*. This elaborate article cannot fail to be of great interest to students of Hellenistic Greek.

2. Pp. 42-59. *Latin notes (continued)*, by Paul Lejay. V. On the Lat. MS 7530 of the Bibliothèque nationale. By a comparison of a calendar contained in this MS with some other calendars, the date and origin of the MS are determined. VI. 'Paulus Constantinopolitanus.' The existence of this man had been deduced by Usener from a note in the above MS. Lejay shows that his process involves several errors.

3. P. 59. In *Plaut. Amph.* 849 Ch. Tailliart proposes *mecum ab* for *a*, thus restoring the metre.

4. Pp. 60-98. *Novae commentationes Euripideae* (second part), by H. van Herwerden. Many of these comments are of great interest.

5. Pp. 99 f. H. Haussoullier, after a brief account of the drainage of Lake Copais by the ancients, suggests that the subterranean canal is referred to in *Pseudo-Aristot. Mirab. Ausc.* XCIX (103).

6. Pp. 101-11. Jules Nicoles describes and publishes the text of six fragments of Homer on papyrus from Egypt, now in the library of Geneva. These fragments are more or less mutilated or illegible, and comprise Od. III 364-75, 384-402, II. I 44-60, IV 82-95, VI 327-53, XI 788-XII 11 (without break). They furnish several new readings.

7. P. 112. Book Notices. B. H. gives a favorable account of the posthumous work of Hippolyte Noiret, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485*, Paris, 1892.

No. 2.

1. Pp. 113-18. On the Carmen Saeculare of Horace, by A. Waltz. This article is one of the various attempts that have been made to explain *eodemque modo in Capitolio*, in the famous inscription found in 1890. The author believes that the first nine strophes were sung on the Palatine and contained a prayer to Apollo and Diana, with invocation of other divinities, and that the next nine, containing a prayer to Jupiter and Juno and an address to the people, with the nineteenth as an *envoi*, were sung on the Capitol. According to the inscription, cattle were sacrificed to these gods, and *not* to Apollo and Diana, and the *Orac. Sibyl.*, vv. 12 and 15, show that the cattle were *white*. Cf. strophe 13. To secure symmetry he proposes to place the fourth strophe after the seventh, as indicated by *Orac. Sibyl. 7-11* and by the order of sacrifices as stated in the inscription. *Ilithyia*, mistaken for a name of Diana, has caused the displacement. The article contains some interesting details. (See No. 3 below).

2. Pp. 119-25. Maurice Holleau discusses Liv. XXXVII 2-5 in the light of an inscription found at Makri in 1889. The Ptolemaeus Telmessius of Livy was probably the son of Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Δυομάχον of the inscription, who was governor of Telmessos in 240-39 (the probable date of the inscription). The article contains some acute observations.

3. Pp. 126-38. On the Carmen Saeculare of Horace, by Georges Lafaye. Another discussion of *eodemque modo in Capitolio*. The view of Mommsen, that the Carmen Saeculare was a *prosodion*, during the singing of which the chorus marched from the Palatine to the Capitol and returned—a theory incidentally refuted in No. 1 above—is here met with five distinct objections. The author then maintains that the entire ode was sung, first on the Palatine, then on the Capitol. He also holds that, despite the silence of the inscription, the other hymns mentioned by Zosimus were sung during the festival. This article and that of A. Waltz, reported above, are indispensable to those who shall hereafter study that remarkable hymn, and it would be useless to give a dry summary of details here.

4. Pp. 139-44. Philippe Fabia finds in Provence and Languedoc, under the forms *Roumèco*, *Raumèco*, *Rémèco* (the name of a monster used in terrifying naughty children), the Latin *Remeligo* of Afranius (Rib., p. 199), a personified abstraction, appearing as *prologus*. He discusses also the use of the word in Plaut. *Cas.* (v. 804, Schoell).

5. Pp. 145-52. On Theon of Smyrna, by Paul Tannery. An edition of Theon's Τὰ κατὰ τὸ μαθηματικὸν χρήσιμα εἰς τὴν τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἀνάγνωσιν having

been recently (Hachette, 1892) published by J. Dupuis, Tannery investigates the origin of the incoherence and inconsistencies of the work. He finds them due partly to the fact that the work was originally a compilation, partly to a Byzantine redaction and augmentation. He warns against emending so as to bring about coherence and uniformity, and discusses some special points.

6. Pp. 153 f. Henri Weil gives a note on *Iudis praetextam ponere* (Cic. ad Fam. X 32).

7. P. 154. Éd. Tournier proposes, in Babrius, XXXIII (42) 7 f., *κρείττω* and *ἀναλυτέα*.

8. Pp. 155-8. B. Haussoulier identifies *Τορύβεια* (a town of Acarnania named in an inscription of Epidaurus) with *Τύρβειον* (named in a Delphic inscription). The article contains some interesting remarks on coins of Acarnania.

9. P. 159. Max Bonnet gives a critical note on Traube's edition of the Opus Prosodiacum of Micon.

10. Pp. 160 f. L. Havet emends Cic. pro Caelio 25, de Orat. III 199.

11. Pp. 162-6. J. Delamarre defends the date assigned to the sculptor Silanion by Pliny (XXXIV 51). He shows that the objections that have been urged are not sound, and then brings positive evidence indirectly from two inscriptions lately found at Oropus.

12. P. 166. Van Herwerden emends Sappho, fr. 79 (Bhg.), Alcaeus, fr. 40, 41, 154.

13. Pp. 167-9. B. Haussoulier offers an interesting explanation of *τὰν ἀγέλαν τὰν τόκα ἐσδνομέναν* and *τὰν ἀγέλαν τοὺς τόκα ἐγδνομένους* in two Cretan inscriptions. Both expressions mean *τοὺς ἐφῆβους τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐξερχομένους* (i. e. entering upon manhood). Before a consonant *ἐσ-* is for *ἐκσ-*, and before a medial *ἐγ-* is for *ἐκ-*.

14. Pp. 170 f. R. Cagnat discusses *epitonium* and *epistomium*, and concludes that the latter should be removed from Latin dictionaries. A recently found inscription mentions a *fistula plumbea cum epitonio aereo ad labrum lapideum*.

15. Pp. 172-200. Book Notices. 1) An account of Catalogus dissertationum philologicarum classicarum, Gustav Fock, 1894, is given by φ. 2) Pierre de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme, d'après un essai de restitution de sa bibliothèque*, Paris, 1892, is summarized and highly praised by Jean Segrestaa. 3) *Notions de prosodie et métrique latines, par G. Boissière avec la collaboration de E. Ernault*, Paris, 1893, is commended as a whole, but adversely criticised in many particulars, by L. D. 4) H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les premiers habitants de l'Europe. Seconde éd. Tome II: Les Indo-Européens*. Reviewed by L. D., who finds the work interesting and instructive, but not without faults. 5) W. Windelband, *Geschichte der alten Philosophie*; Siegmund Günther, *Abriss der Geschichte der Mathematik und der Naturwissenschaften im Alterthum* (Müller's Handbuch, vol. V, part 1). Favorable mention, with a few adverse comments, by G. Rodier. 6) *Tabulae quibus antiquitates Graecae et Romanae illustrantur*, ed. Stephanus Cybulsky, described

by φ. 7) Walther Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*. Some faults pointed out by L. D. 8) Otto Hoffmann, *Die griechischen Dialekte*. 2. Band: *Der nord-achäische Dialekt*. Göttingen, 1893. Charles Lambert finds this a valuable work, but makes objections to some details, especially the over-use of the influence of accent. 9) 'Ante Agamemnona': a new departure in philology (Nos. I-IV), by A. P. Skene, Oxford, 1892. Barely mentioned by φ, who hopes that the promise "to be continued" will not be fulfilled. 10) *Enchiridium dictionis epicae*, scripsit J. van Leeuwen. Pars prior. Lugd. Bat. 1892. Brief and, in general, favorable mention, by L. D. 11) *De coniunctivi et optativi usu Euripideo in enuntiatis finalibus et conditionalibus*, scripsit F. Johnson, Berolini, 1893. Reviewed by J. Keelhoff, who is surprised to find recognition of American grammars in a Berlin dissertation! He regrets that the work offers nothing new, but some things erroneous. He defends at some length *ei* with the subjunctive in Attic. 12) C. O. Zuretti, *Scolii al Pluto ed alle Rane d'Aristofane dal codice Veneto 472 e dal codice Cremonese 12229*, L, 6, 28. Also, *Analecta Aristophanea*. The reviewer, Albert Martin, considers the former work (151 pages) larger than is necessary. He gives an account of the latter, which describes the MSS of Aristophanes, discusses the scene of the two sycophants in the *Plutus*, gives an index of the plays of Aristophanes after Vat. 918, and treats of the MSS containing the scholia of Tzetzes. The reviewer supplies some omissions in the first part (on the MSS). 13) Oreste Nazari, *Quo anno Aristophanes natus sit*. Extract from the *Rivista di Filologia*, 1893, p. 9. Reviewed by Albert Martin, who pronounces the arguments ingenious, though not thoroughly convincing. Nazari, by a comparison of Nub. 528-33, Equit. 514-17 and 541-6, places the birth of the poet in 446. 14) *The Philoctetes* of Sophocles, edited by F. P. Graves, Boston, 1893. P. C. finds the literary introduction too brief, the metrical introduction too elaborate and sometimes erroneous, and nearly all the notes lacking in precision, and some of them wrong; but his remarks savor of hypercriticism, as when he pronounces the scansion of dochmiae 'strange,' without intimating that it is the scansion of J. H. H. Schmidt, and when he demands *πέρη* in v. 332. 15) *Thucydides, erklärt von J. Classen*, III. Buch, 3. Aufl. besorgt von J. Steup, Berlin, 1892. P. C. makes favorable mention, but finds some fault with the grammatical and explanatory notes. 16) P. C. barely mentions the substance of *Studia Theognidea*, scripsit G. Lucas, Berlin, 1893 (71 pp.)—an attempt to prove that 52 of the verses ascribed to Theognis are spurious, the reasons relating to correction by hiatus. 17) *Platons ausgewählte Schriften*, VII. Theil, *Platons Staat*, erstes Buch, erklärt von M. Wohlrab, Leipzig, 1893. P. Couvreur gives a brief account of this work, with high commendation, despite some minor errors which he corrects. 18) *Annuaire des traditions populaires*, publié par Paul Sébillot, secrétaire général de la société. Z gives a short account of this publication, and briefly discusses the relations of folklore to classical studies. 19) *Dionis Prusaensis quem vocant Chrysostomum quae extant omnia*, edidit apparatus critico instruxit J. de Arnim. Vol. I. Berlin, 1893. F. Cumont points out the important improvement of this work over that of Emperius published fifty years ago, and highly commends it. 20) *Handbuch der klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, etc., herausgegeben von Iwan von Müller. Bd. IV.

2. Abtheilung: Die römischen Staats-, Kriegs- und Privatalterthümer von Herm. Schiller und Mor. Voigt. Second edition. Félix Mouriot gives a full description of this complex work, with full list of contents. He considers the work an excellent one in every respect. 21) M. Manitius, Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts. Stuttgart, 1891. L. D. describes this work and pronounces it very useful. It is not, indeed, so thorough a work as Otto Ribbeck's History of Roman Poetry, but the time has not come for so complete a history of Christian poetry. 22) Le réalisme dans Pétrone, par P. Thomas. Gand, 1893. H. B. gives a brief summary, with favorable comment. 23) Lucrèce, De la Nature, livre II (Munro, translated into French). Bare mention by L. D. 24) Discours de Cicéron contre Verrès: Divinatio in Q. Caecilium (with commentary, etc.), by Émile Thomas, briefly mentioned by L. D. 25) Historia Apollonii regis Tyri, iterum recensuit A. Riese. Lipsiae, 1893. P. T. finds this ed. a great improvement on the first. 26) W. M. C. Collar's Seventh Book of Vergil's Aeneid briefly described by M. Roger. 27) Catulle et ses modèles, par Georges Lafaye. Paris, 1893. Reviewed by H. Borneque. This work took the prize in the contest on the subject submitted by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: "Rechercher ce que Catulle doit aux poètes Alexandrins et ce qu'il doit aux vieux lyriques grecs." The reviewer commends the conclusion that Catullus was not merely an imitator of the Alexandrine poets, but thinks the author has not given Catullus sufficient credit for originality. 28) Classiques latins, publiés sous la direction de M. A. Cartault. School edition of the Adelphoe by Fabia, the Bucolics by Waltz, and extracts from the Metamorphoses by Lejay, briefly mentioned by φ. 29) Claudii Galeni Pergameni scripta minora, rec. J. Marquardt, Iw. Müller, G. Helmreich. Vol. III. Lipsiae, 1893. Briefly commended by V. H. Friedel. 30) A. Dieterich. Nekyia. Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse. Leipzig, 1893. F. C. briefly discusses the possible means of ascertaining the origin of the notions of heaven and hell contained in this Apocalypse, and adds: "Mr. Dieterich does not impose upon himself so painful a task. For him the question, as soon as proposed, is solved: the author of the Apocalypse cannot have other than reproduced the dogmas of the Orphic mysteries." The reviewer combats this view, or rather the soundness of the method, but considers D.'s book learned and ingenious. 31) Livy, books XXI and XXII edited with introduction and notes by J. B. Greenough and Tracy Peck. Boston. R. Pichon finds this an excellent work for the purpose intended by the authors.

#### No. 3.

1. Pp. 201-19. Henri Weil critically discusses and emends thirty-two passages of Euripides and five of Aeschylus.
2. Pp. 220-8. Léopold Constans critically discusses and emends eighteen passages of Tacitus.
3. P. 228. In Babrius, CVII (129), v. 14, Éd. Tournier proposes *ōvēta* for *ōπoia*.
4. Pp. 229-40. On negatives in the New Testament, by Paul Thouvenin. Starting out from the premise "*oū* nie la réalité d'un fait (c'est la négation

objective); *μὴ* nie la réalisation d'une pensée (c'est la négation subjective)," the author systematically treats the various categories, finding a reason for *οὐ* or *μὴ*, as the case may be, in almost every instance. These reasons will not be accepted by all grammarians. The following instances out of many may be cited: After quoting some other examples of *οὐ* and *μὴ* in the same sentence, he adds: "2 Cor., 2, 13: *οὐκ ἐσχηκα ἀνεστ τῷ πνεύματι μον* (fait réel), *τῷ μὴ εὑρεῖν με Τίτον τὸν ἀδελφὸν μον*. Sans doute l'inquiétude de Paul est un fait réel, mais le motif de son inquiétude est simplement pensé. De même Heb. 4, 15, 4, 2. 1 Jo. 5, 10: *ὁ μὴ πιστεῖν τῷ θεῷ ψευστὴν πεποίηκεν αὐτὸν, ὅτι οὐ πεπιστεύκεν κτλ.* Ici l'écrivain passe brusquement d'une hypothèse à un fait qu'il se représente comme réel." He then remarks: "La plupart de ces exemples sont conformes à l'usage classique. Cependant il faut reconnaître que certains emplois n'y sont pas d'un usage courant. Ainsi ce brusque passage du fait réel au fait simplement pensé, ou du fait pensé au fait conçu comme réel, que présentent les derniers exemples, ne s'y rencontre qu'exceptionnellement." Again, after citing some examples of negated participles, he proceeds: "On peut rapprocher de ces passages les suivants, qui appartiennent au grec classique ou postérieur: Xen., An., 4, 4, 15: *οὐτος γὰρ . . . ἀληθεῖσαι τοιάτα, τὰ δύτα τε ὡς δύτα καὶ τὰ μὴ δύτα* (les choses, qui dans son opinion, ne sont pas) *οὐκ δύτα* (comme n'étant pas en réalité)." Then follow examples from Josephus and Plutarch.

5. Pp. 241 f. L. Havet emends Plaut. Asin. 755, Bacch. 140, Capt. 597.
6. Pp. 242 f. L. Duvau explains *in noctem*, Verg. Aen. VII 10, by comparison with Lucr. VI 712, 874.
7. Pp. 244-51. Critical notes, by P. Foucart, on Aristot. Rep. Ath. XLII, XLIII, XLVI, XLVII. Recently found inscriptions throw important light on some obscure points, showing, for instance, that in XLII *κοσμητὴν* and not *ἐπικελητὴν* is to be read.
8. Pp. 252-4. George Doncieux reads, in Tibul. I 5, 66, *pauper et obstrictos furtim deducet amictus*, and in IV 4, 18 reads *sedula* for *creedula*, referring to I 4, 80.
9. Pp. 255-9. F. Susemihl critically discusses the last chapter of Aristot. Poetica.
10. Pp. 259 f. F. Gustafsson emends Cic. Rosc. Amer. 23, 64; 29, 80; 37, 106; 38, 110.
11. Pp. 260 f. R. Pichon gives critical notes on Liv. XXII 60, 24; 24, 5; XXIV 27, 8; 48, 5.
12. P. 261. P. Lejay points out the use of *fémine* (which must not be replaced by *semine*) in Ov. Met. XIII 928—a matter of interest for comparative grammar.
13. Pp. 262-4. Critical notes on Ov. Met. VI 201, by G. Lafaye, who proposes and illustrates at length the reading  
*"Infectis procul ite sacris, laurumque capillis  
 Ponite."* Deponunt et sacra infecta relinquunt.

14. Pp. 264 f. Ch. Tailliart reads, Plaut. Capt. 72 *At ego aio recte dictum, nam in conuiuio.*

15. P. 265. L. Delaruelle reads, Plaut. Capt. 265 *Quod sciam: quod nesciumst, etc.*

16. Pp. 266-70. J. Delamarre publishes and discusses an inscription, dedicatory to Nemesis, now in the Louvre.

17. Pp. 271-80. Book Notices. 1) Curt. Th. Fischer, *De Hannonis Carthaginiensis periplo.* Leipzig, 1893. B. Auerbach gives a summary of this thorough investigation, objecting only to the insolent and arrogant tone. 2) H. Brunn, *Griechische Kunstgeschichte. Erstes Buch: Die Anfänge und die älteste decorative Kunst.* Munich, 1893. B. Haussoullier gives brief summary, with the highest praise. 3) *Étude critique sur le premier chant chorique des Phéniciennes d'Euripide, par Dr. B. Apostolidès.* Paris, 1893. Shown by P. C. to be utterly worthless. 4) *Les mimes de Hérodas traduits en français, avec introduction et notes, par P. Ristelhuber.* Paris, 1893. Noticed, in the main favorably, by C. E. R., who makes a few objections, among them this: "Il fait l'H aspirée pour des raisons qui nous ont paru faibles." 5) *Lucianus, recognovit J. Sommerbrodt.* Berlin, 1893. Highly commended by P. C. 6) *Quaestiones Terentianae, scripsit Dr. Flaminius Nencini.* Flaminii Nencini *Quaestiones Terentianae alterae, 1893* (reprinted from the *Rivista di Filologia*). Ph. Fabia pronounces the author's conjectures ingenious and plausible, but rarely, if ever, certain. 7) Leopold Winkler, *Die Dittographien in den nikomachianischen Codices des Livius.* Wien, 1890-92. J. Dianu suggests a number of omitted examples, that the author may be able to "render his interesting work as complete as possible." 8) *Émile Thomas, L'envers de la Société romaine d'après Pétrone.* Paris, 1892. Henri Bornecque finds this work interesting and instructive despite certain faults which he points out. 9) *La Prose métrique de Symmaque et les Origines du Cursus, par L. Havet.* Paris, 1892. Reviewed and summarized by H. Bornecque, who highly praises the work and regards it as creating a new method of textual criticism for the ends of sentences. The *cursus* (i. e. rhythmical close of sentences) began at an early day (see *Rev. de Phil.* XVII, pp. 33 ff., 141 ff.; *Am. Journ. Phil.*, No. 62, pp. 254 and 256), and when the accent came to be recognized as in modern verse, a corresponding influence appears in the *cursus*; but Symmachus still retains the *metrical* *cursus*. [Havet and his reviewer, of course, call the accentual *cursus* simply 'rhythmical.'] 10) *Chronica Minora, collegit et emendavit Carolus Frick.* Vol. I. Leipzig, 1893. Georges Goyau gives a brief summary and highly commends the work, which arrives at many new conclusions, some of them in conflict with Mommsen's views.

#### No. 4.

In this number the *Revue des Revues*, begun in a previous number, is completed.

MILTON W. HUMPHREYS.

BEITRÄGE ZUR ASSYRIOLOGIE UND SEMITISCHEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT,  
 herausgegeben von FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH und PAUL HAUPT. Dritter  
 Band, Heft 2 (pp. 189-385). Leipzig, 1896.<sup>1</sup>

The second Heft of the third volume of the Beiträge is devoted exclusively to two articles of considerable length.

The first of these (pp. 189-362) is an exhaustive treatise by Bruno Meissner and Paul Rost on the building inscriptions of Esarhaddon, giving a transliteration, translation and commentary of the records relating to Esarhaddon's architectural operations both in Assyria and Babylonia. The article is divided into two parts, the first of which is devoted to the explanation of the inscriptions of Esarhaddon which relate to his buildings at Nineveh (pp. 189-215), while the second part (pp. 215-362) treats of the more numerous records concerning the construction of his Babylonian palaces and temples. The treatise is accompanied by thirty-five reproductions of the text of the inscriptions, and by a plan, following Layard, of the southwest ruins of Nimroud (*Kalxu*). It is unfortunate that these plates giving the text of the inscriptions are not introduced in their proper place at the end of the article. The entire seventy pages of plates are inserted bodily in the middle of the commentary on the inscriptions relating to the building operations in Babylonia, breaking badly the connection between pp. 284-357.

An interesting and probably correct explanation of the doubtful word *parātu* is given in the commentary to Col. IV 19 of the prism inscription of Nebi-Yunus (p. 210). The author translates the word as 'calcareous stone,' giving as his reason the fact that the words *pīlu piṣā* 'white *pīlu*' and *parātu*, which occur together so often in the inscriptions, indicate the two sorts of stone which were used most commonly by the Assyrians as building materials. Delitzsch (AW., p. 516) gives the probable meaning of *pīlu* as 'granite' or 'marble,' and that of *parātu* as 'alabaster,' but the following reason brought forward by the authors here seems to show that this idea is incorrect. It is evident from the excavations that the chief stone materials, used especially in the foundations of the temples and palaces, were alabaster and calcareous stone, and it is known that the mountains in the neighborhood of Nineveh are extremely rich in alabaster, and that calcareous stone still exists in great quantities in the Amānus range (the so-called Anti-Libanus). The question, therefore, as to which of the two words was used for alabaster is answered conclusively by the references in the Sennacherib inscriptions to the procuring of the rarer *parātu* stone from these same Amānus mountains. That Aššurbanipal also procured *parātu* in the rocky highlands of Elam is seen from V R. 6, 49. The *pīlu* stone, on the other hand, was obtained from the royal quarries on the mountain now known as Jebel Maqlub, in the neighborhood of Nineveh. The author therefore rightly decides that *pīlu* is alabaster and *parātu* is limestone, without offering any suggestion as to the possible derivation of either of the words. According to D. H. Müller (see *Klschr. v. Aschru* Durga, Wien, 1886, p. 18) the word *pīlu*, sometimes occurring in the form

<sup>1</sup> For the report on Bd. III, Heft 1, see A. J. P. XVI, pp. 117-21.

*pulu* (see Lotz, *Tiglathpileser*, p. 177, 84; Lyon, *Sargontexte*, p. 80, 56), is a loan-word from the language of the Vannic inscriptions, and this is all the more probable because the district in which this idiom was spoken abounds in alabaster (for further references in this connection, see ZA. II, pp. 107, 225; RP.<sup>2</sup> I, p. 117, n. 4).

In the commentary to the same inscription of Nebi-Yunus, on p. 213 of the *Beiträge*, the meaning of the word *xittu* is correctly given as 'Einfassung,' i. e. 'enclosure, setting,' and the distinction between it and *xittu* 'destruction,' which is not observed by Delitzsch in his AW., is very properly made here, but without any attempt at explanation. It is highly probable that *xittu* 'enclosure' is a derivative from a hollow stem *xātu*, as it is frequently found written *xe-it-tum*, and it is not impossible that this is the same stem seen in the Hebrew סָלַל 'seal,' from which we have סָלַל 'to seal' as a denominative verb.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, *xittu* 'destruction,' which is explained II R. 35, 35ab by *namātum*, is probably to be derived from *xatā* 'to overpower,' from which we have the well-known *taxtā* 'defeat, utter destruction' (cf. *aškuna taxtāšu*, Senn. V 75 et passim).

The inscriptions relating to Esarhaddon's buildings in Babylonia, although more numerous than the records of his Assyrian operations, are much less interesting reading, because they are written, unlike the fuller Assyrian inscriptions, in constantly recurring, bald, stereotyped phrases and enter but little into the details of the work of building. The inscriptions translated in this second part of the article refer chiefly to Esarhaddon's restoration of Babylon itself, which had been razed to the ground through the fury of his father Sennacherib. These records of Esarhaddon accordingly refer to the rebuilding of the two city-walls *Imgur-Bēl* and *Nimitti-Bēl* and of the great temple *Esaggila*, which had not escaped the general destruction under Esarhaddon's cruel and vindictive predecessor. It is very unfortunate that the inscription K. 2711 (pp. 264-9), which gives a list of all of Esarhaddon's buildings, is much mutilated. With the exception of I R. 48, No. 9, which was found at Tel Amran near Babylon, the inscriptions translated here by Meissner-Rost come partly from Koyounjik and partly from the collection brought by Budge to the British Museum in 1888.

The form *zinātu* 'anger' mentioned on p. 273 is, as the author states and as may readily be seen from the context, undoubtedly a derivative of the well-known stem *zinā* 'to be angry.' That this is the meaning of *zinā* is clearly shown by Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, p. 23. It is not improbable that this *zinā* is etymologically a cognate with the common Semitic زَنَى, زَنَى,

زَنَى (?) used in Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic with the sense 'to commit fornication.' The original meaning of the stem, however, may have been 'to be heated or excited,' which in the Assyro-Babylonian became applied to anger, but in the other idioms to sexual excitement. A precisely parallel

usage is the application of the stem סָרַר, סָרַר 'to be warm, to burn' (cf. Ps. 39, 4; Dtn. 19, 6) to rage, but in Gn. 30, 38 to the sexual heat of animals.

<sup>1</sup> According to Lagarde, *Uebers.*, pp. 116 f., סָלַל מִזְרָח is a derivative from סָלַל=צָהַל 'to bind' (?). According to others, it is an Egyptian loan-word (ZDMG. 44, p. 685).

In the inscription Bu. 88-5-12, 103, Col. II, l. 7, the authors in their transliteration, p. 224, read the word *mu-di[n-nu]* after *ku-ru-un-nu*, translating it 'wine' (see also p. 274). The word, if it existed, was probably *mutinnu* = *mu'tinu* with infix *t* from *γ'*, a stem which appears in Assyro-Babylonian in the rare word *tnu* (see II R. 25, 38a and ZA. I, p. 187; also Jensen, ZDMG. 43, pp. 657 ff.). The Sumerian equivalent in II R. 25, 38 and elsewhere for *tnu* and *karānu* is MU.TIN, which may be a Semitic loan-form.

With regard to *mummu* in *bit-mummu* 'house of learning,' mentioned p. 280, the form may be a reduplication of *mu* 'water,' e. g. *mu+mu*. The reason for supposing this derivation is that the same ideogram is used to denote this word and also *šiqatum* 'irrigation' from *šaqū* (cf. ASKT., p. 25; 511, 513). The word *mummu* seems to denote the unfathomable depths which were the abode of Ea, the god of profound wisdom. The *Mawīq* of Damascus is undoubtedly *Mummu*.

The form *immaldu* = *iwaldu*, alluded to p. 281 as the first example yet found of the Nif'al of verbs γ'', is a highly interesting contribution to the phonetics of the consonant *m*. It has long been known that Assyrian *m*, especially in the *Inlaut*, was pronounced like *v* or *w*, and indeed that sometimes *m* in the *Inlaut* completely disappears, undoubtedly because of its pronunciation like *w*. For the interchange of *m* and *w*, compare *argamannu*, Aram. אַרְגָּמָן; *Dariamuš*, דָּרִיאָמָשׁ, and see the numerous examples in Delitzsch, Assyr. Gr., §44; for the disappearance of *m* entirely, compare *ega* for *emga*, V R. 65, 3a; *ušat'ix* for *ušatmix*, *šur'ini* for *šurmēni*, etc.<sup>1</sup>

In connection with *likšir* from the unusual *kašdru* 'to uphold, care for,' the authors might have mentioned the formation *kušeru* which occurs V R. I 21, apparently with the meaning 'proper' or 'lucky,' e. g. *milik la kušir* 'an improper (unlucky) plan.' This is probably from an adjectival formation *kušeru* = *kušdru* (so Jensen, KB. II, p. 165, note), with the original *a* assimilated to *e* by the influence of a soft pronunciation of the *u*, e. g. ӯ.

The stem may be identical with the Heb. כְּשַׁר, Arabic كُشَّر. A parallel *Umlaut*-usage is the *e* in the word *šurmēnu* = *šurmānu* (cf. Haupt, Assyrian E-Vowel, p. 11, n. 1).

The second and last article in the Beiträge is a transliteration and translation, with commentary, by Morris Jastrow, Jr., of a new fragment of the Etana legend.

Among the recent contributions in the field of the lesser Babylonian mythological productions, the work of E. T. Harper on the Etana, Zu, Adapa and Dibbara legends in the second volume of the Beiträge (pp. 390-521, and for report see A. J. P. XIV, pp. 115 ff.), has been by far the most important. The theme of the Etana legend is one not uncommon in general folklore, e. g. first, that of the hatred of the eagle against the serpent, in spite of the latter's being aided by the sun-god, and the subse-

<sup>1</sup> For the use of *m* in Assyrian, representing a foreign *δ* in such names as *Xalmān* = حلب 'Aleppo' with nunnation, cf. ZA. II, pp. 269 f.

quent alliance of the eagle with a mighty hero (Etana). What seems to be an important episode in the story is the flight of Etana to heaven clinging to the eagle's breast, during which the bird gives him a vivid description of the rapidly receding earth. Etana becomes frightened after a great height has been reached, and orders the eagle to return, but the great bird's strength being by this time exhausted, he falls to earth with the hero, who thus reaches his heavenly goal through the natural medium of death. Unfortunately, the inscription translated by Harper is mutilated at the critical point where the pair of bold adventurers are just beginning to fail in their upward flight.

Dr. Jastrow's article on a new fragment of this interesting and valuable legend cannot fail to be a useful contribution to this highly important department of Babylonian literature. The fragment is one of a series of tablets from the library of Aššurbanipal which came into the possession of the late Rev. Dr. W. F. Williams at the time of Layard's excavations near Mosoul. This particular tablet is at present the property of the Rev. D. W. Marsh, of Amherst, Mass. It is undoubtedly a duplicate of one of the texts explained by Harper, referring to and concluding the episode of the eagle and the serpent. According to this fragment, the eagle, in punishment for his contumacy against the serpent's powerful ally Šamaš, is ultimately destroyed. The tablet giving the account of Etana's ride on the eagle, therefore, must precede this 'Marsh' fragment in the Etana series (see pp. 369-75).

It is very interesting to notice that Jastrow connects Etana and the Heb. name יְהָנָן both etymologically and historically. His conclusion regarding this point is that there is only one biblical יְהָנָן, e. g. the sage alluded to 1 Kgs. 5, 11, and that this person is in no way connected with Ethan the Ezrahite of the Psalms. Jastrow thinks that the tradition which gives this name to a poetical writer is due to a confusion between the names יְהָנָן and יְהָוָה, which arose, partly from the resemblance between the two names, partly because הָאָדָה, the generic title of יְהָנָן, was confused with פָּרָה, a clan-name of the tribe of Judah from which in 1 Chr. 6, 26 a certain יְהָנָן is derived (see p. 377), and, finally, because in Ps. 88 we have the name הָאָדָה applied to יְהָנָן. Jastrow assumes also that this biblical Ethan is historically identical with the mythical Babylonian Etana, especially as the names of the persons associated with Ethan in 1 Kgs. 5, 11, viz. Hēmān, Khalkōl and Darda', do not seem to be Hebrew. The author inclines to the theory that we shall eventually discover further references in Babylonian literature to these three names, and he thinks that the Etana legend contains the Babylonian elaboration of traditions associated with Ethan.

The word יְהָנָן in Hebrew has undoubtedly the force of 'strong, firm,' as in Job 12, 19, a meaning which may possibly appear in the probable cognate *itānu* 'an enclosure, a surrounding,' used IV R. 26, 24/5a for a net spread over the sea, e. g. *ina itāniša nānu ul ūqqu* 'from whose net no fish can escape.'

Jastrow's treatise is followed by four plates (pp. 379-85) giving the text of the inscriptions translated, the actual size of the new 'Marsh' fragment

of the Etana legend (obverse), and photographs of the obverse and reverse of the same inscription.

The article by McGee, *Untersuchungen zur Topographie Babylons auf Grund der Keilschrifturkunden Nabopolassars und Nebukadnezars*, which was announced for this Heft of vol. III, has not yet appeared.

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J. DYNELEY PRINCE.

## BRIEF MENTION.

A very different work from Mr. FORBES's *Thukydides I*, which was briefly noticed in the last number, is Mr. MACAN's edition of Herodotus: *Herodotus, Books IV-VI* (London and New York, Macmillan & Co.), in two volumes, the first volume containing introduction, text and commentary, the second a number of special researches and disquisitions the mere titles of which would tax the space of *Brief Mention*. True, like Mr. FORBES, Mr. MACAN is not a grammarian, and his occasional grammatical notes are out of keeping with the learning, the research and the insight which the editor shows in historical and anthropological matters. Of some thirty-five points of grammar recorded in the index, nearly all are the merest trivialities, and nothing of moment is brought nearer to a solution; nor has any serious attempt been made to master the syntactical usage of Herodotus, which is a very potent element in his style. Indeed, one might learn more from the contrasted handling of article, adjective and substantive in Herodotus and Thukydides than from many pages of rhetoric about the chasm that divides the two authors. He who should be at the pains to watch what Aristotle calls the *όγκος* position and the *σύντονία* position, and the easy grace of the slipshod position—substantive, article and adjective—would have an insight that might save him from phrase-making. It is, therefore, rather droll, in this dearth of grammatical notes in Mr. MACAN's commentary, to find that he has actually discovered and quoted one monograph, viz. Heiligenstädt, *de enuntiaturorum finalium usu Herodoteo*. Why this partiality? There are a number of others he might have found cited in accessible school editions such as STRACHAN'S, noticed in A. J. P. XII 388. Irregularities of construction Mr. MACAN is fond of attributing to the excitement of the author, just as one might attribute the peculiar twists and turns of the speech of the Mytileneans in Thuk. III to the embarrassment of the traitorous allies of the Athenians. Now, such explanations are, in my judgment, perfectly admissible, if fortified by exhaustive observations, but they lose their value when they are thrown out with that genial ease which is characteristic of Mr. MACAN and which seems to be a reflex from Herodotus himself. To be sure, the jaunty comment strikes one at times as somewhat affected, and sometimes the genial ease becomes unscholarly slovenliness. It does not mend matters to add the *h* to Hoeck that has been docked from Boeckh, and somehow Palmerius ought not to be Englished by Palmer. The Dublin scholar has earned a right to his own name as Le Paulmier had to his. Of course, every one knows the difficulties that lie in the way. Dr. Holden has cited Leunclavius under several different forms in one of his books, and young American students fresh from the German *seminar* are apt to Latinize honest Richard Dawes after the continental fashion. But when it comes to secondhand erudition, there is no end of marvels, and a dissertation written in English may cite Bernhardy's griech-

ische Litteraturgeschichte as if it were a Latin book. But when we leave grammatical ground there is another MACAN, from whom much is to be learned. Especially interesting in the introduction to the first volume is Mr. MACAN's elaborate analysis of the triad which he has undertaken to edit and the advocacy of the unity of the three books, suggesting as that unity does, the tripartite structure of the work and a ground-plan of the whole. The travels of Herodotus in the regions described in this triad, which may be called the second volume of his history, come next under discussion, and then follows a characterization of the way in which Herodotus handled his material. Here we have criticism and selection, there presentation and creation. For Herodotus is not merely an artist, and after making all necessary deductions Mr. MACAN grants that for us Herodotus is the father of criticism as he is the father of history. And well he might be, for the antique *lötropia* involves criticism *ex vi termini*. Herodotus puts his own interpretation on natural phenomena, and a very respectable interpretation it is sometimes, as Huxley and others have shown. 'It is very seldom, if ever,' says Mr. MACAN, 'that individual conduct is explained by Herodotus in a way which is unnatural or psychologically untrue.' On the other hand, he seems to Mr. MACAN to lack political insight, and he ascribes 'the profounder glimpses of policy and political causation, which traverse or illuminate his pages, either to a better source or group of sources, or to the irresistible logic of facts, honestly narrated and recoverable or replaceable in chronological order.' 'The irresistible logic of facts' is a phrase like any other. 'The indifference shown by Herodotus in his rationale of human conduct, for the merely utilitarian motives, may be traced,' says Mr. MACAN, 'at least in part, to two principles. The first is that Herodotus loves a good story and writes for lovers of good stories, for the many rather than the few: he was a *logograph*, not a sophist, and took Homer rather than Anaxagoras for his master.' Surely a logograph and not a sophist is a false antithesis. The sophists were famous story-tellers, and this mark of their tribe lasted through all the centuries. It is true of Protagoras—witness the Platonic dialogue of that name: it is true of Lucian. The other principle on which Mr. MACAN lays stress is the supernatural element. Herodotus was a devout man, in a sense; but in a matter involving religious feeling so many attitudes are possible that it is always dangerous to formulate, to categorize. It is perfectly possible to consider the faith of Herodotus as an official faith, a *parti pris* faith, in the face of the unbelief that prevailed so largely in the circles in which Herodotus moved. It is perfectly possible to say that he was a good Church of Greece man. But everything Herodotean is still subject to revision, and however one may differ from Mr. MACAN at various points, he has made a substantial contribution to the study of Herodotus and added new zest to the work of one of the most fascinating, large-minded, artistic and lovable natures in the whole world of classical literature.

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A couple of years ago KAIBEL favored us with a new edition of Galen's *Protrepticus* (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung), and it was my purpose to call attention to the attractive original and the improved text. Now it is

rather late in the day, but in re-reading it for a special purpose I find occasion to emphasize a lesson which the grammarian, however he may despise the *Graeculi*, must consent to learn. Among the better writers—nay, even among the worse—certain traditions have established themselves that we cannot afford to neglect (comp. f. i. A. J. P. IV 426, note 2), and I am sorry that when I was commenting in a recent number of the Journal (XVI 396) on the foolishness of the teaching in the grammars as to *ei μὴ διά*, the following passage of the *Protrepticus* was not present to my mind: *τις γὰρ <ἀν> ἦν Σταγιρῶν λόγος, εἰ μὴ δι' Ἀριστοτέλην, τις δ' ἀν Σόλων, εἰ μὴ δι' Ἀρατόν τε καὶ Χρίστπον* (p. 8 K.). An example like this effectually disposes of the ellipsis of a verb of hindering and such stuff.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., 812 Broadway, New York, for material furnished.

### AMERICAN.

Flügel-Schmidt-Tanger. A Dictionary of the English and German Languages for Home and School. 2 vols. New York, Lemcke & Buechner. Large 8vo, half-leather, \$4.50.

— The German-English part separately. \$2.60.

Muss-Arnolt (W.) A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language (Assyrian-English-German). Parts 3. 4. New York, Lemcke & Buechner. @ \$1.25.

### ENGLISH.

Anecdota Oxoniensia: The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents now in the Bodleian Library. Edited by A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson. Oxford. 4to, 180 pp. 12s.

Godley (A. D.) Socrates and Athenian Society in his Day. London. 8vo, 240 pp. 4s. 6d.

Murray (J. A. H.) The Oxford English Dictionary. Vol. VII. Development-Diffluenzy. Oxford. 4to, 64 pp. 2s. 6d.

Sayce (A. H.) The Egypt of the Hebrews and Herodotos. London. 8vo, 358 pp. 7s. 6d.

### FRENCH.

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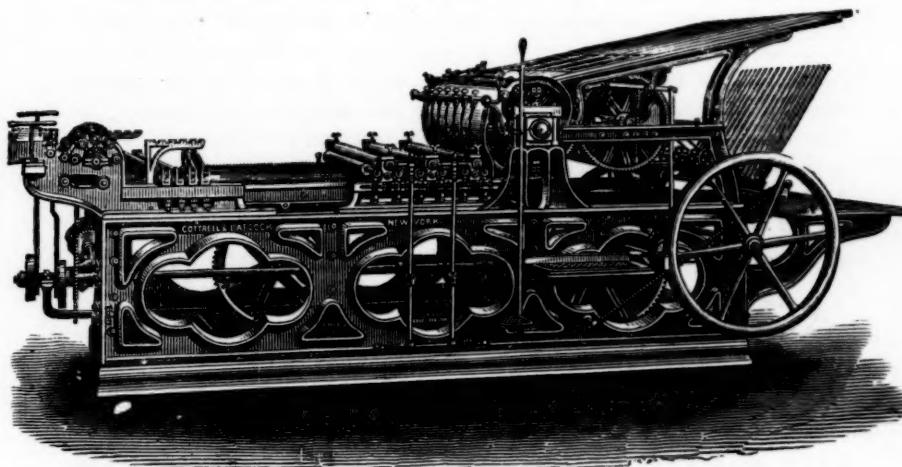
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